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ARCHAEOLOGICAL NOTES

TWO GREEK STATUES

WHEREAS many Greek reliefs of the fourth century B.C. have survived—votive, sepulchral, and architectural—original statues of that period are, as is well known, exceedingly rare. And this is so in spite of the fact that marble was at that time a favorite material with sculptors. Many precious works must have perished in the limekilns. The acquisition by this Museum of two marble figures [1] of that period is therefore something of an event (figs. 1–6).

Figure 9 shows the two statues grouped in a restored niche. The various stages in this reconstruction are so typical of detective work in a Museum that it may be of interest briefly to recount them.

Some time ago the statue shown in figs. 1–3 was sent to the Museum for inspection, together with a number of fragments found with it (fig. 10). The latter could all be fitted on the statue except a little forearm which evidently belonged to a much smaller figure. On enquiry we were told that a smaller figure, said to have been found with the larger one, indeed existed, but that it was cursorily worked and not very important. As we wanted to apportion the fragments to their rightful owners, we asked that the little figure also be sent. The forearm turned out to belong to it.

The question now came up whether the two statues were in any way related. The marble seemed identical, the style and workmanship were similar, the poses the same though antithetic, and the garments composed in similar folds, with numerous creases running criss cross over the surface. However, the scale was very different—one statue being only a little under life size, the other about three feet high.

While puzzling over this difficulty we noticed that the eyes of the smaller figure were carved with the lower eyelids drawn partly over the eyeball. She was evidently not looking downward at something in her hand, nor straight ahead at someone at her level, but upward at someone taller than herself. In other words, she was presumably looking at the other figure. (The lower part of the neck being missing, the exact turn of the head was not fixed, but a bulge on the upper left side of the neck indicated a turn to the left). This clue provided a simple solution to the problem. The two figures evidently formed a group similar to those which appear on fourth-century Athenian grave reliefs, consisting of a standing woman with a dreamy, far-away expression and a diminutive figure—represented as a small grown-up, but intended for a child—wistfully looking up at her [2] (cf. figs. 12, 13). It seemed

[1] Acc. nos. 44.11.2, 44.11.3. Ht. of larger figure: with plinth 56⅞ in. (1.445 m.), without plinth 53⅜ in. (1.356 m.). Ht. of smaller figure: with plinth 40½ in. (1.03 m.), without plinth 38 in. (96.5 cm.). Condition as seen in figs. 7, 8. Pentelic marble. Put together from several fragments with slight restorations in plaster at the junctures, the most important being the lower part of the small figure's neck, which must have ended in a large tenon (like that of the other figure) for insertion in the socket at the top of the body. Many smallish pieces are missing in the woman's drapery. The two statues are said to have been found in Athens a long time ago.

[2] Cf. e.g. Diepolder, *Attische Grabreliefs*, pls. 36, no. 1, 37; Conze, *Attische Grabreliefs* ii, pls. CLXVII, CLXIX; Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, pl. XIV.

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FIG. 1.—STATUE OF A WOMAN. LATE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

FIG. 2

FIG. 3

FIGS. 2, 3.—STATUE OF A WOMAN. LATE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

FIG. 4

FIG. 5

FIGS. 4, 5.—STATUE OF A GIRL. LATE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

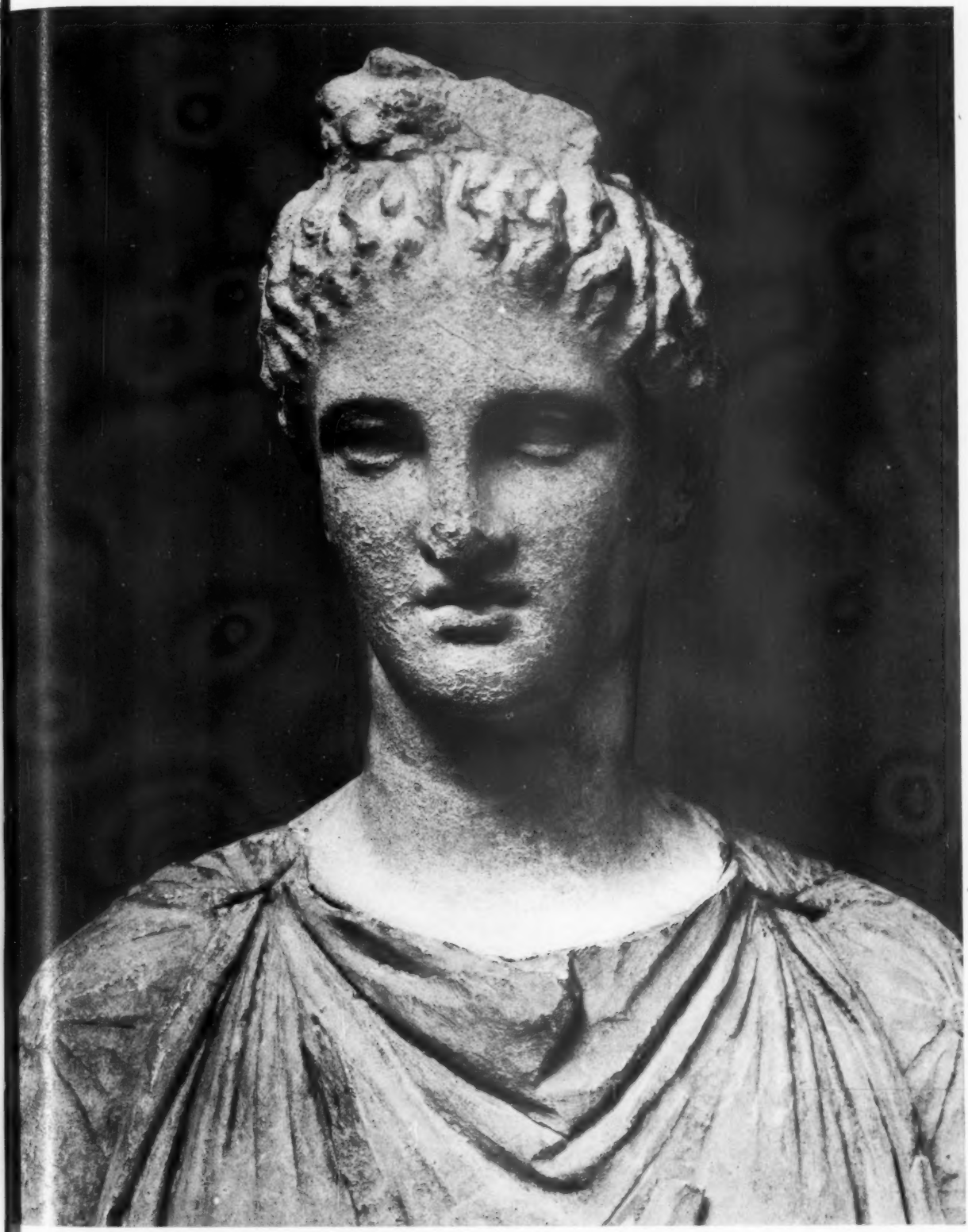

FIG. 6.—HEAD OF THE STATUE SHOWN IN FIGURE 1
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

likely, therefore, that our two figures also served as a tomb group, worked in the round instead of in relief. As the backs are only roughly blocked out (fig. 8), they were obviously not intended to be seen. So the statues were presumably placed in a niche, similar to those represented in fourth-century grave reliefs. As this niche has not survived, we have restored it in wood to provide the figures with the architectural setting which we felt they needed (fig. 9). The name of the dead woman was presumably inscribed on the architrave of the original niche.

As can be seen in the illustrations the statues are comparatively well preserved. We have restored in plaster only a few missing pieces on arms and drapery, as well as the lower part of the child's neck (cf. figs. 7, 8). The woman wears two tunics—a

FIG. 7

FIG. 8

FIGS. 7, 8.—STATUES SHOWN IN FIGS. 1, 4, WITH PLASTER RESTORATIONS
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

sleeved chiton and a peplos with belted overfold—as well as a mantle, which is fastened on both shoulders and falls down her back;[3] the girl has a peplos with long belted overfold. Though the hands are missing we can reconstruct the action to some extent. The woman grasped a fold of her flowing mantle with her left hand (cf. fig. 3) and perhaps held an object in her raised right;[4] the child's right arm was lowered and she held perhaps a casket in her left hand. Both woman and child wore earrings, for the lobes of their ears are pierced. The earrings were probably the long gold ones with pendants popular in the fourth and third centuries.

In both statues the heads were worked separately from the bodies. The neck of the woman ends below in a large, rounded tenon (fig. 11), which fits a corresponding

[3] For such "Rückenmantel" cf. Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 30, pls. v, no. 1; vii, no. 3 (Erechtheion karyatid); xix, no. 2. [4] Or the hand was merely raised as in Conze, *op. cit.* ii, pls. cliii, clxxxvi, ccv.

FIG. 9.—THE STATUES SHOWN IN FIGS. 1, 4 PLACED IN A RESTORED NICHE
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

socket at the top of the body. There can be no question, therefore, of the position of the woman's head. A similar socket is at the top of the child's body to receive the missing tenon. The practice of carving the head separately is not uncommon in the fourth and third centuries [5] and of course saved both labor and material. It is not necessary, therefore, to assume that the bodies were made as stock, and the heads later for a particular client. Such a surmise would only be warranted if the heads were individualized portraits. Since, on the other hand, they are idealized in the regular fourth-century manner and are comparable to many on contemporary grave reliefs, they would have been appropriate as representations of any young woman and child of the time. Heads and bodies are therefore pre-

FIG. 10.—FRAGMENTS BELONGING TO STATUES SHOWN IN FIGS. 1, 4
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

FIG. 11.—HEAD OF STATUE SHOWN IN FIG. 1
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)

sumably contemporary works, and by the same artist. The superiority in quality of the woman's head is easily accounted for by the fact that in a tomb group a sculptor would have paid special attention to the head of the person commemorated.

We have an important clue for the height at which the figures were placed in the somewhat exaggerated outward curve at the base of the woman's neck which must have been concealed behind the rising fold of drapery (cf. fig. 11). This technical device, which is common on works of this period,[6] was doubtless intended to avoid a deep groove which would collect water, and so performed a useful function, though

[5] Cf. e.g. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*,[6] p. 269, fig. 189; Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires*, p. 181, figs. 110, 110 bis; p. 183, fig. 111; p. 191, fig. 117; Blümel, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* iii, K43, K54.

[6] Cf. e.g. Conze, *op. cit.* i, pls. LIX, LXXVIII.

FIG. 12.—STELE OF THEOPHILE. FOURTH CENTURY B.C. IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS. (CONZE, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs* II, pl. CLXIX)

FIG. 13.—STELE OF SILENIS. FOURTH CENTURY B.C. IN THE STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN. (DIEPOLDER, *Die Attischen Grabreliefs*, pl. 37)

FIG. 14.—ATHENA FROM A "RECORD" RELIEF, 321–317 B.C. IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, ATHENS (SPEYER, *RM.* 47, 1932, pl. 29, 1)

FIG. 15.—ATHENA. STATUE IN THE MUSEO COMMUNALE, ROME. FROM A PHOTOGRAPH

FIG. 16.—ATHENA FROM A "RECORD" RELIEF, 295–294 B.C. AKROPOLIS MUSEUM, ATHENS (SÜSSEROTT, *Gr. Plastik*, pl. 11, 1)

such a departure from nature would have been disturbing if seen by the spectator. We have therefore placed the statues fairly high, though perhaps not as high as they were originally; for we know that in the fourth-century cemetery of the Athenian Kerameikos family monuments were sometimes placed on platforms 10 to 25 feet in height.[7]

A few tomb statues of the general style of our figures are known. One which somewhat resembles our woman is in the Louvre, another in the National Museum of Athens.[8] Two small headless statues of children remarkably similar to ours have also survived and have been tentatively identified as subsidiary figures of tomb groups (figs. 17, 18).[9] Several Athenian grave reliefs are known with figures in such high relief that they are almost in the round,[10] and tomb statues are occasionally represented on fifth- and fourth-century vases.[11] Archaeologists have therefore suspected for some time that, in addition to the grave reliefs, groups of statues were erected in Attic burial plots. If we have correctly interpreted our statues they would be the first extant group of this kind known to us.

FIG. 17.—STATUE OF A GIRL. FOURTH CENTURY B.C. IN PRIVATE POSSESSION. (*RM.* 24, 1914, pl. 1)

FIG. 18.—STATUE OF A GIRL. FOURTH CENTURY B.C. NEAR MARATHON. (COLLIGNON, *Les Statues Funéraires*, p. 199, fig. 125)

It is not likely that there were still other figures; for if there had been, the woman would presumably have been related to them in a particular action—a hand-shake, for instance, as often on the grave reliefs. Instead, she is self-contained, looking into space.

We can determine the date of our statues fairly exactly. Stylistic comparisons point to the later fourth or the early third century B.C. In a number of statues and reliefs of that period we find similar stances, creased draperies, headdresses, and relatively small heads, as in our statues.[12] We may compare in particular the figure of Athena on a "record" relief (fig. 14), with the names of the archons Kephisodoros

[7] Brueckner, *Der Friedhof am Eridanos*, pp. 56 ff., p. 71, fig. 43.

[8] Collignon, *op. cit.*, pp. 158 f., figs. 90, 91. Cf. also on the question of tomb statues, Furtwängler, *Sammlung Sabouroff* i, p. 50, pls. XV-XVII.

[9] Collignon, *op. cit.*, p. 199 f., fig. 125; Preyss, *RM.* xxix, 1914, pp. 12 ff., figs. 3, 5, 7, pl. 1.

[10] Cf. Diepolder, *op. cit.*, pls. 50, 51, 53, 54.

[11] Riezler, *Weissgrundige attische Lekythen*, p. 102, pl. 22; Six in *Bonner Studien*, p. 154, pl. X; Walters, *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum* iv, F 352–355.

[12] Besides the reliefs listed in footnote 2, cf. especially Diepolder, *op. cit.*, pl. 52, no. 1; *BCH.* ii, 1878, pl. VII; Conze, *Att. Gr.* i, pls. LV, LIX, LXIX, LXXVIII; Bieber *op. cit.*, pl. V; and the statue of Athena in the Museo Comunale, Rome (cf. our fig. 15)—a reference which I owe to Dr. Bieber.

(323–322 B.C.) and Archippos (318–317),[13] and the Athena on a "record" relief dated 295–294 B.C.[14] (fig. 16). In both these reliefs, moreover, the figures are isolated from one another, as in our group. And we have still another landmark. If our statues served as an Attic tomb memorial they must have been made before the famous "anti-luxury" decree of Demetrios of Phaleron which forbade the erection of sculptured gravestones in Attica, limiting memorials to small stone pillars and other simple markers.[15] The decree must have been promulgated sometime during the ten years that Demetrios was in power, that is, between 317 and 307, probably in 317–315.[16] Not until the second century B.C. did sumptuous grave monuments reappear in Attica.[17]

The later fourth century was the time when the influence of the great sculptors Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos was paramount. In the charming head of our woman, in particular, with its delicate, oval face and serene expression, we can feel the spirit of these masters' creations. Something of the radiance with which Praxiteles imbued his works is reflected in the quiet loveliness of our group.

METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART GISELA M. A. RICHTER

[13] Speyer, *RM.* 47, 1932, pl. 29, no. 1; Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrh.*, pl. 9, no. 4; Binnebössel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs*, p. 15, no. 68.

[14] Speyer, *op. cit.*, pl. 31, no. 1; Süsserott, *op. cit.*, pl. 11, no. 1; Binnebössel, *op. cit.*, p. 17, no. 78.

[15] Brueckner, *AA.* p. 23, and *Der Friedhof am Eridanos*, p. 25; Kirchner, *Die Antike* xv, 1939, pp. 94 ff.

[16] Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 42 f.; Dow and Travis, *Hesperia* xii, 1943, pp. 159 ff; Süsserott, *op. cit.*, p. 120, note 136. Mr. Ferguson, whom I consulted on the date of Demetrios' decree, has sent me the following admirably clear analysis: "If I were in your position I should doubtless date the 'legislation' of Demetrios of Phaleron in 317–07 B.C., probably in 317/5. It seems clear, as Dow has recently concluded, that one of Demetrios' regulations went into effect in 315/4 B.C. Demetrios secured control of Athens after the sixth prytany of the archon year 318/7 (Pritchett and Meritt, *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. 1), i.e. after the year 317 had begun. The point remains whether Demetrios issued his whole code at one moment or piecemeal over a period of years. Analogies for the latter procedure have been found in the spread over a number of years of the work of the *anagrapheis* of whom Nikomachos, Lysias' enemy, was one and of the *anagrapheis* active in 307/6 B.C. and later. An *anagraphe nomon* is, however, something quite different from a *nomothesia*. The probability is that Demetrios issued his new ordinances in a block as soon as possible after he got control, and let an *anagraphe*, incorporating new and old laws, follow with its usual slowness, if, indeed, he arranged for an *anagraphe* at all. On this view the dating of one rule would date the whole code. An argument can establish only a probability. It is conceivable that Demetrios issued his rules as he sensed the need for them. Hence I have given you the cautious formula with which this note begins."

[17] Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 287; Kirchner, *op. cit.*, pp. 96f. Cf. also Collignon, *op. cit.*, pp. 267 ff.

A FRAGMENT OF A COLOSSAL ACROLITHIC STATUE IN THE CONSERVATORI

SEVENTY years ago, in the first publication of the marble illustrated in figs. 1–4, Visconti identified it as part of a statue of Isis Athenodoria. Since that time there has been no general agreement, because there has been no basis for agreement. Instead of making a calm study of the evidence, or even of the design on the sandal, scholars have hurried to propound theories. Thus Guy Dickins, who had done so brilliantly with Damophon's cult statues at Lykosoura, denied that the piece belonged to an Isis, in order to claim it as a work by Damophon. The ascription to Damophon, unhappily, introduced more matter for disagreement. What I have written cannot claim to be complete or final, but the reader will find, I think, that Isis is not less probable than before.[1]

Bibliography. Previous bibliographies have been very incomplete. I have tried to include all references of any importance. In the present study these works are referred to by the authors' names alone.

C. L. V[isconti], *Bulletino della commissione archeologica municipale* i, Rome, 1872–3, pp. 33–41 and pl. I; F. Gori, *Archivio storico artistico archeologico e letterario della Città e provincia di Roma* 3, Spoleto, 1878–9, pp. 44–45; Th. Schreiber, *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil.-Hist. classe) 8, 1883, p. 598, n. ***; O. Gilbert, *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom* iii, Leipzig, 1890, p. 112, n. 1; R. Foerster, *Jahrbuch des deutsches archaeologisches Instituts* 6, 1891, pp. 195–196; C. Robert in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyc.*, Halbband 4, 1896, col. 2047, lines 57–66; Otto Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, (I.v. Muller, *Handbuch* 3, 3, 2, ed. 2, München, 1901), p. 342; (H. Jordan–) Ch. Huelsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* i, 3, Berlin, 1907, p. 197 and n. 37; W. Amelung, *Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* ii (Berlin, 1908), p. 194; G. Dickins, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 31, 1911, pp. 308–314; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* i (ed. 3, by W. Amelung *et. al.*, Leipzig, 1912), p. 633; M. Marchetti, *Bullettino della commissione archeologica municipale*, 42, 1914, pp. 57, 351–352; Henry Stuart Jones, ed. for British School at Rome, *Catalogue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, Oxford, 1926, Text, pp. 216–217; Plates, 82; E. B. Stebbins, *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* (Johns Hopkins diss., 1927), p. 107; A[rnold] W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, New York, 1927, p. 121; (S. B. Platner–) T. Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Oxford, 1929, p. 286; G. Lugli, *I Monumenti antichi di Roma* iii, Rome, 1938, pp. 568–569; R. Valentini-G. Zucchetti, *Codice Topographico della Città di Roma* (*Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, pub. Instituto storico italiano per il medio evo, Rome, 1940), p. 137; A. Rumpf, *Die Meerwesen auf den antiken Sarkophagreliefs* (Archäologisches Institut des deutschen Reiches, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, G. Rodenwaldt, ed.; 5, Pt. 1, Berlin, 1939), p. 128, figs. 168–170.

[1] The paper grew out of a note on what Dickins said about Isis, and the attempt led me into fields less familiar. All of it, moreover, is book-knowledge: I have not examined the stone itself, but I have tried not to make judgments which such an examination conceivably might alter. In what has to do with Roman topography particularly, Dr. H. Bloch has given copious, indispensable help. Dr. G. M. A. Hanfmann has put in my way materials on sculpture. Helpful suggestions have been made throughout the text by Prof. A. D. Nock.

Some discussion of previous theories is given in the publication by the British School in Rome referred to hereafter as Jones; other works listed in the Bibliography are also referred to hereafter by the authors' names alone.

The photographs (figures 1–4) are those of the British School reproduced. I give them because they do not appear very legibly in Dickins' article; and Jones omits one. The new photographs in Rumpf, who has no view from above, are worth seeing, but on the whole inferior.

For other colossal sculptured female feet in Rome, all of them parts of acrolithic statues, see G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del Magazzino del Museo Vaticano* (*Monumenti Vaticani di Archeologia e d'Arte* iv, Città del Vaticano, 1937), pp. 161–162 and pl. 67, nos. 347 and 348; these are smaller than the Conservatori foot. There is also the enormous foot, likewise from an acrolithic statue (probably of Isis), the well-known *Piè di marmo*, F. Matz–F.v. Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom* i, Leipzig, 1881, pp. 459–460, no. 1605; Huelsen, *op. cit.* i, 3, p. 569.

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FIG. 1.—FROM ABOVE
(AFTER JONES, *Cat. Con.*, PL. 82)

FIG. 2.—FROM THE LEFT (AFTER DICKINS,
JHS. xxxi, 1911, p. 309)

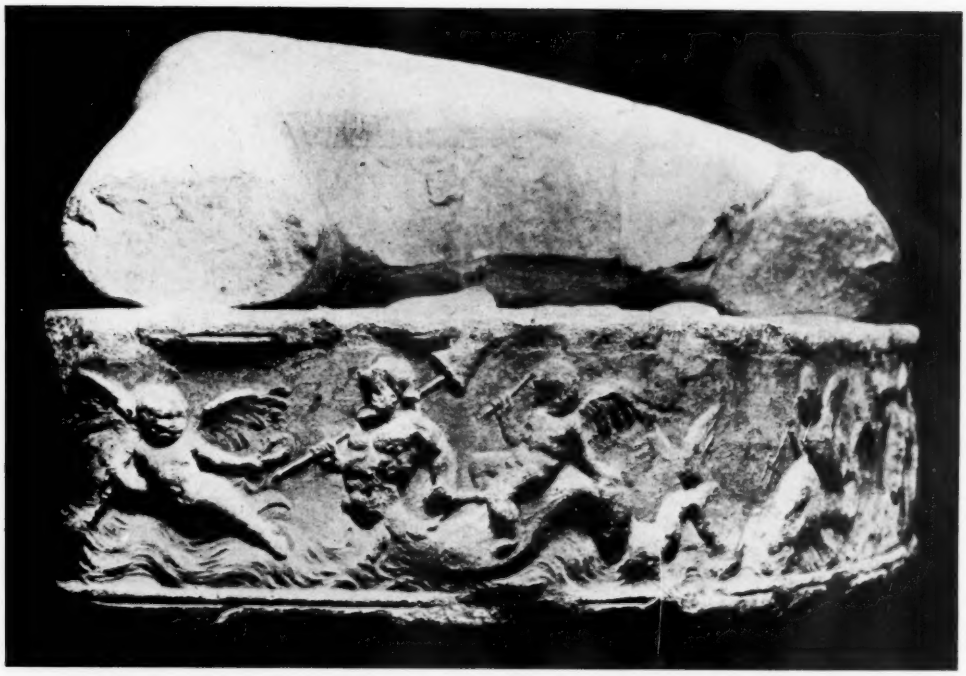

FIG. 3.—FROM THE FRONT (AFTER JONES, *Cat. Con.*, PL. 82)

FIG. 4.—FROM THE RIGHT
(AFTER JONES, *Cat. Con.*, PL. 82)

Design. From the time of its discovery, the piece has been recognized as obviously part of an acrolithic statue of colossal size. Only the forepart of the foot is preserved. The height of the sculptured frieze is evidently close to 0.10 m. Jones gives the height of the whole (foot and sandal) as 0.22 m., an original dimension, and the length as 0.38 m., also original, since the full length of the marble (though of course not of the foot) is preserved;[2] Visconti estimated that the complete original length of the foot was ca. 0.86 m. Hence, the original height of the whole statue, if it was a standing figure, was over five meters, or some 16 feet.[3]

The very little which is preserved of the foot itself is said to be dull work. Judging by it, connoisseurs have generally felt doubts about the quality of the whole. There is hardly enough left for a convincing verdict on the style of the foot itself. In any case, I suggest merely as a notion worth testing that the feet of most post-archaic (i.e. partially or wholly realistic) Greek statues are ugly. The reason may be that in real life open footgear and rough roads made the human foot more spreading and developed than what we think of as beautiful in a foot. The foot of the Praxitelean Hermes at Olympia will serve as one example.

Be this as it may, the design of the frieze can be made to yield some notion of how the artist's mind worked. Allowance, doubtless, must be made in what follows for the influence of tradition. There may even have been a few models which he could imitate more or less closely. These considerations enhance rather than weaken the interest of the problems; for a great landmark of the tradition was doubtless the sculptured friezes which Pheidias designed for the soles of the sandals of Athena Parthenos. Pheidias faced some of the same problems as those which confronted our sculptor: the solutions of Pheidias may well have become canonical, and may be echoed on the sandal in Rome. If we follow Rumpf in his Roman dating, then an additional source of experience was available, namely the elaborate notions of design worked out on sarcophagi (Rumpf, plates and text, *passim*).[4]

From left to right the composition contains:

Two dolphins
Triton ridden by Eros
Eros in flight
Triton ridden by Eros
Dolphin ridden by Eros
Triton ridden by Eros
Dolphin

From this list we may see at once that the sculptor conceived of his unit as a Triton ridden by an Eros. Since an uninterrupted row of such figures would be monotonous, he decided to insert smaller figures between the Triton-groups. For these intermediate figures he evidently, as we shall see, adopted the dolphin ridden by an

[2] Visconti's measurements, repeated by Dickins, transpose length and width. The width (given as the length by Visconti) is 0.26 m., and is the full original width.

[3] As to the marble, it is said to be Greek, but no one speaks with assurance on this.

[4] Note e.g. such compositions as in his pl. xiii particularly for studies of the directions of movement of dolphins and Erotes.

Eros. In a word, he adopted the alternation Triton, dolphin, triton, dolphin . . . as the basis of the composition.

The area to be filled was fairly simple. Nothing whatever debarred him from regarding that area as one continuous flat surface, all parts of which were to be equally visible, and accordingly he might have applied the alternation Triton, dolphin, Triton, etc., rigidly, without modification, throughout the length of the area. Instead of doing so, he studied the problem longer and came to see that the basic schema needed to be modified before being applied to the surface. Above all he felt the need of emphasis on a central point of interest. This point was already provided for him by the shape of the sandal and of the foot above. On the front, under the big toe, just before the surface turns a fairly sharp corner to the (spectator's) left, was the most prominent area. To fill this area, a Triton was too long and too spread out, and a dolphin ridden by an Eros was not emphatic enough; but a plump Eros in flight would just fill the space under the toe. The sculptor decided to make the body of this infant almost as big as a dolphin's; to spread the wings wide; to let the infant hold a wreath and a flaming torch;[5] and underneath (where there was an unusual space to be filled, since the figure was not swimming but flying) he decided to let the waves rise a little higher than elsewhere.

To make this flying Eros stand out prominently, the sculptor next decided to group the rest of the composition about it, and to include no other flying creature. All the other figures must swim or ride swimmers. The sculptor also felt that the center of the composition must have a sort of dynamic stability. Hence the motion of the body of the Eros, which flies toward the left, must be counteracted by having the head look, and one hand gesture, back toward the right.

To the (spectator's) left of the center, viz. on the inner side of the sole, the sculptor would of course place a Triton at the corner, nearest the flying Eros, and the Triton would of course move and look (to the right, i.e.) toward the flying Eros. The Triton was to bear a basket of fish in his outstretched left hand, and an awkward space just under the basket was filled by a dolphin's head. Behind this Triton, i.e. on the inner side of the foot, was an area which the sculptor filled with two riderless dolphins facing each other. The explanation of the placing of this trivial group is doubtless that the area was not easily seen, being obscured from the spectator by drapery and by the other foot.[6] But even so, the sculptor was at pains not to make the two dolphins symmetrically, heraldically, alike, but varied their poses throughout, and even their dimensions.

The other, outer, side of the sandal was longer and proved to be large enough to accommodate, in order: first, nearest the flying Eros, a Triton; next, a dolphin; and then a Triton—each of the three being ridden by an Eros. There remained a short space, and here again he made use of the riderless dolphin—a fat, space-filling, big-eyed dolphin—as a sort of period to his sentence. All of these creatures on the outer side (the spectator's right) of the sandal move of course toward the flying Eros, i.e.

[5] Which Jones calls a whip. Each of two other Erotes also carries a crown. Visconti had these details correct.

[6] The roughening of the marble above for contact with the wood shows that drapery overhung the (inner) dolphin on the left.

toward the left; and all look and gesture to the left, except, for variety, one Eros, which faces and gestures half right.

The scheme which had thus taken shape may now be tabulated more fully as follows, with indentations to indicate degrees of subordination. Reading, as above, from left to right:

(Drapery, carved in wood, hanging to the ground and thus concealing the rest of the sandal).
Two dolphins facing each other.
Triton facing right, ridden by Eros facing left.
Eros in flight.
Triton facing left, ridden by Eros facing left.
Dolphin facing left, ridden by Eros facing left.
Triton facing left, ridden by Eros facing half right.
Dolphin facing left.
(Drapery, as above).

It remained to draw upon, and perhaps to add to, the stock repertory of gestures and objects in order to vary and distinguish the Tritons and Erotes from each other, and so to give life to the whole.[7] Finally, paint would be used to pick out these details as well as to light up the whole design.

When he had finished, it appeared that precisely under each toe there was a figure or a prominent part of a figure: first, the flying Eros; second, the human part of a Triton; third, an Eros; fourth, the Triton's great tail; and fifth, a dolphin ridden by an Eros. As we have seen, it was not through any accident that the flying Eros precisely fills the space under the big toe. Whether or not the sculptor deliberately placed the other figures so as to match the other toes is perhaps impossible to say But surely, whether the effect was planned or not, when the sculptor noticed it, his order-loving mind was pleased.

Date. For reasons which ranged widely but never clinched the matter, Dickins attributed the foot to Damophon. Oddly, this attribution seems never to have been carefully tested.[8] Attention may be called to the tails of the Tritons as being the sort of clue which is objective and, since it is not the kind of particular on which an artist would lavish thought (with resultant changes), it may well be significant. In other words, a given artist's conception of a Triton's tail might reasonably be expected to remain the same; if two versions of tails differ markedly as between one work and another, then the two works are by different artists. The Lykosoura Triton's tail is long, is twisted in many elaborate curves, and ends in a small, open, broad U-shape; the tails on the Conservatori sandal are comparatively short, bend in only one or two simple curves, and end in broad U-shapes which are large and are not open U's, but almost solidly filled-in half circles.[9]

[7] See Visconti and Jones for identification of the various objects not mentioned here. Visconti's developed drawing is useful.

[8] For the Lykosoura drapery, see P. Cavvadias, *Fouilles de Lykosoura*, Athens, 1893, pl. IV.

[9] I have not seen Katharine Shepard's dissertation, *Fish-tailed Monster* (Bryn Mawr, 1940). Rumpf's plates show a considerable variety in the shapes of dolphins' (and Tritons') tails. Mrs. Eunice Stebbins

In Helbig's *Fuehrer*, Amelung pointed to differences which though naturally imprecise are real: "So ist . . . der Gegensatz zwischen dem Fuss und den Fragmenten aus Lykosyra stark genug: dort ein Hinarbeiten auf äusserlich-dekorative Wirkung mit krausem, etwas üppigem Detail, hier eine übermässige Feinheit, schlichte Motive und vielmehr eine gewisse Trockenheit. Man vergleiche die einfach gewundenen Fisch-Schweife hier und die barock-verschlungenen dort." The attribution of the sandal to Damophon can be dropped.[10]

Arguing for his attribution, Dickins insisted that the work was Greek, of the third or second century B.C. The scholar who has most recently discussed the piece, Rumpf, finds many similarities (which, however, he does not specify) between the relief on the sandal and the reliefs on some sarcophagi; and Rumpf has no hesitation in dating the foot in the Hadrianic period. The only specific comparison which he makes is with the treatment of water and other features in relief in the representation of a boar hunt on the Hadrianic *tondi* on the arch of Constantine.[11] Rumpf also shows that after the middle of the second century of our era the treatment of waves becomes harder and sharper.

Without having made a careful examination of the sandal and some study of a long range of reliefs—a study which no one has yet made—I should hesitate to assign the relief to any precise period. The date, it seems to me, can conceivably be any time between the third century B.C.—but this improbably early date is not even considered by Rumpf—and ca. 160 A.D. If Dickins were right, then the foot could not belong to a statue of Isis, since no statue of Isis would have survived from the third or second century B.C. to be recorded in the *Notitia*. But I believe few scholars would now refuse to follow Rumpf and tentatively to admit his date, the first half of the second century of our era.

Place of Finding. The piece was found in an area excavated in front of the church of S. Cesareo on the Via Appia, just beyond the Thermae Antoninianae. The foot lay within *alcuni antichi muri, che sembravano aver formato una cella quadrata*. This is all Visconti says of the structure itself. Conceivably it was a small *sacellum*—hardly large enough, it would seem, for a 16-foot statue—but in any case Visconti reports that the earth was mixed with bones (and paving blocks) so that the walls probably belonged to a tomb, as Jones says. The excavations were so little promising that they were filled in immediately. Of course the marble foot could have been moved from elsewhere to the place where it was found, but it is so heavy that it would not have been moved any great distance unless for some special re-use. Actually, there is no sign that it has been re-used. We may reasonably suppose, then, that it comes from somewhere in Regio XII, the region in which it was found, or from Regio I, which ad-

Couch tells me that the dolphin's tail should be shown forked, and that the dolphins on the sandal are represented as longer than in nature.

[10] Dickins' attribution of the sandal to Damophon seems to have been something of an afterthought. In his original discussion of Damophon's style, he mentioned the Roman sandal not as akin in style, but merely as having marine monsters. He then dated it somewhere in the "Late Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman period." This was in 1906–1907 (*BSA*. 13, p. 393). The ascription to Damophon did not appear until four years later (1911, *JHS*.).

[11] For these reliefs, see e.g. E. Strong, *Scultura romana*, p. 222, fig. 135; full references in Rumpf. For a flying Eros close in spirit to the Eros on the sandal, see Rumpf p. 130, fig. 172 (second century of our era).

joins. No deities known in Regio I come into consideration, so that we may confine our attention to Regio XII.

Huelsen contended that the foot belonged to Terra Mater, because he thought that there was a shrine of Terra Mater near at hand, but the two inscriptions which are all we know of this cult, *CIL.* vi, 771 and 772 (772 = *ILS.* 1522), were found *in una vigna delle monache di S. Sisto dietro S. Cesario*, that is, somewhere in the neighborhood of the place of finding of the foot, but not in the same spot. There is not the slightest necessity for supposing that the two inscriptions come from the same precinct as the foot. Moreover, there is no reason to believe that symbols of the sea were especially appropriate, though they are conceivable, for Terra Mater.

The place of finding [12] is in Regio XII, which is given the following features in the *Notitia:* [13]

> *Regio XII. Piscina Publica.* Continet ariam
> radicariam. Viam novam. Fortunam mammosam.
> Isidem Athenodoriam. Aedem Bonae Deae subsaxaneae.
> Clevum Delfini. Thermas Antoninianas. Septem
> domos Partorum. Campum lanatarium. Domum
> Chilonis. Cohortem IIII. vigilum. Domum
> Cornificies. Privatam Hadriani. Vici XVII, *et al.*

It will be noted that Terra Mater is omitted: the inference seems warranted that her precinct was insignificant and hardly likely to have contained a colossal cult statue. The next to consider is Fortuna Mammosa, who was important enough to have a *vicus* (in Regio XII) named for her,[14] but the epithet implies that she was of a different type from the type which could be identified with Isis when Isis was conceived as Isis-Fortuna; i.e. Fortuna Mammosa can hardly have been a seafaring goddess.[15] The Basis Capitolina records, as the first (probably the northernmost) *vicus* in Regio XII, the *vicus Veneris Almae.* Venus Alma might perhaps, as Venus, have a minor sort of connection with the sea, but her sanctuary was probably near the Circus Maximus, i.e. not near S. Cesareo.[16]

In Regio XII there were doubtless other cults besides those known to us, but it seems improbable that there were many which had cult statues 16 feet high, with the size of temple which such a height implies. Conversely, the *Notitia* includes mention of only those cults which were remarkable, i.e. which would be likely to have colossal statues. In his, the original, publication, Visconti assigned the foot to the cult statue of Isis Athenodoria.[17] There was and there is no other obvious identification which can be based on topographical considerations.

The handbooks contain no data on the location of the cult of Isis Athenodoria

[12] See H. Kiepert—Ch. Huelsen, *Formae Urbis Romae antiquae* ² Berlin, 1912, map II, square Qq. R. Lanciani, *Forma*, sheet 42, omits it.

[13] Valentini-Zucchetti, pp. 137, 180; C. L. Urlichs, *Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus*, Würzburg, 1871, pp. 16–19.

[14] Valentini—Zucchetti, p. 45.

[15] On the type, R. Peter, in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* i, 2, col. 1520, s. v. *Fortuna.*

[16] Valentini-Zucchetti, p. 44, n. 3; Ashby, p. 580.

The sea creatures and especially the Erotes on the sandal suggested to Gori that the statue was that of Venus, and he named Venus Alma, though without discussing the type. Apart from Venus Genetrix, however, all the common types of statues of Venus show her nude, or partly nude, and barefoot.

[17] Add that the preserved statues of Isis-Fortuna, being sandalled, and draped down to, and over, the ankles, expose just such an area of foot and sandal as the Conservatori foot preserves. See below.

except the bare mention in the *Notitia*, but further information may be had from a lost inscription published as false in *CIL* vi, 5, no. 18. As Marchetti alone has seen, R. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma* i, Rome, 1902, pp. 234–235, threw new light on this inscription by an excerpt from the rare and forgotten book *Antiquitates Urbis* by one Andreas Fulvius, written for Clement VII and published in 1517. Lanciani quotes this work as follows (the omission is his): "(Il tempio) d'Iside Antenodorica era nella regione della Piscina Publica in testa della via nuova . . . ove, pochi anni sono, furono dissotterrati alcuni marmi spezzati, ove era scritto, cioè intagliato, l'infrascritte parole: 'seculo felici Isias sacerdos, Isidi Salutaris consecratio.' Nell' altro pezzo era scritto in questo modo: 'pontificis votis annuant dii romanae reipu. arcanaque morbis presidia annuant quorum nutu. rom. imp. regna cessere.'" I have not attempted to establish and to interpret the correct text. Both texts, Fulvius' and the one given in the *Corpus*, are open to suspicion. For the provenience of the inscription, the *Corpus* quotes three sources of the Renaissance, two of which give meaningless reports, but the other one, Cod. Semin. di Padova 175, c. 78′, gives "Inter aedem s. Xisti et thermas antoninianas versus Circum maximum et palacium maius, ubi olim templum Isidis in via nova . . . in quadro marmareo luculleo seu serpentino." The inscription certainly refers to a cult of Isis, and it would be perverse not to think of Isis Athenodoria. The foot was found within ca. 250 m. from the spot where the Paduan codex says that the inscription was found.[18] *If* the inscription is genuine, it furnishes some evidence that the precinct of Isis was near at hand.

Isis and the Sea. Topographical arguments are not the only arguments which have prevented the acceptance of Visconti's identification of the foot as that of the statue of Isis Athenodoria. *Ma di grazia che cosa hanno da fare gli Amorini, i Tritoni, i Delfini e la spuma del mare con Iside?* (Fabio Gori, 1878). "The marine character of the relief, a group of Tritons with Amorini and Dolphins, . . . certainly affords not the slightest reason for determining the subject as Isis" (Guy Dickins, 1911). Curiously, in all that has been written on the Conservatori sandal, these statements have escaped criticism.[19] All over the Mediterranean, Isis was a goddess, perhaps *the* goddess, of the sea and of sailors. There is surely no need to labor this point: an abundance of evidence is laid out by Drexler in Roscher ii, 1, cols. 474–490.[20]

Except perhaps for one aspect of Venus, the Romans had no major goddess of the sea until Isis was accepted. Isis had a cult in Rome as Isis Pelagia,[21] and a painting of a ship recently discovered near Rome shows Sarapis, Isis, and some third deity

[18] As to the location of the cult-place of Isis Athenodoria, there is also, for whatever it may be worth as evidence, Marchetti's *MS.* of the sixteenth century, "De Urbe Roma Adnotationes Pulcherrimae," which locates a *templum Isidis* as follows: "inter has termas [viz. Antoninianas] et viam Appiam iuxta D. Nerei." The church of S.S. Nereo ed Achilleo is just beyond the main axis of the Thermae; opposite this church is S. Sisto, across the Via.

[19] Without giving reasons, C. L. Visconti had stated in the original publication of the sandal that it suited the character of Isis.

[20] More briefly by Roeder in *PWK.* Halbbd. 18, cols. 2116–2117, 2124, s. v. *Isis.* Add that in Delos she was worshipped as Isis Εὔπλοια (P. Roussel, *Cultes égyptiens de Délos*, p. 196, no. 194; and cf. p. 276). Literary passages: T. Hopfner, *Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae*, index, esp. p. 854.

[21] Ashby, *Top. Dict.*, s. v.

as though painted in a panel on the prow of a ship.[22] On March 5 the opening of the sea to traffic after the winter months was celebrated by the *Isidis navigium*.[23] Drexler (esp. col. 477) again has plentiful evidence.

The marine aspect of Isis, however, was not the only nor even her predominant aspect. If her marine aspect were to be particularly emphasized in the statue proper, then she would probably hold in her right hand a rudder, as in numerous statues commonly called Fortuna or Isis Fortuna.[24] (Very likely this was the principal attribute of Isis Pelagia). But if the (usually subsidiary) marine aspect of Isis were to be expressed in some minor way, there were probably only two places available. The larger would be the base of the statue, if it stood on a sculptured base. The other would be the soles of the sandals. Hence the presence of a marine scene on the sole of the Conservatori sandal accords perfectly with the hypothesis that the statue was of Isis (or Isis-Fortuna).

The evidence as to the place of finding was not fully known to Gori, to Dickins, or to other students of the piece. If, however, they had known it, they might still have objected that although a marine connection was proper for Isis, the connection would not be indicated in this particular way. Such would seem to have been the objection in the mind of Drexler when he condemned the assignment of the sandal to Isis Athenodoria as *vollends phantastisch*. He gives no argument, and his words on this matter have never been taken as seriously as they ought, considering that he more than anyone had studied the detailed evidence on Isis. Nevertheless, he seems to have been wrong. Some sort of sea creatures had to be shown: mere waves, fishes, dolphins would not do. A frieze of dolphins and fish would also be too simple, too dull. An ambitious scene, to take the other extreme, would contain the whole rout of a *Meerthiasos* (or other ambitious groups or single figures studied in Rumpf, pp. 94–130); but that would be too elaborate for the space. Simple Tritones and Erotes with dolphins were the natural, in-between, choice.[25]

If doubt on this point remains, let Eunice Stebbins Couch's dissertation be consulted (p. 86, with references): "One of the pantheistic goddesses having the dolphin as her attribute is Isis, who in the aspect of a sea-goddess, probably a development out of Aphrodite Euploia, takes over the symbols of Poseidon, the trident, rudder, prow, and dolphin. The dolphin twined around a rudder is an attribute of Isis-Tyche or Fortuna."

It is true that some of the other figures chosen had no close relation to Isis, despite the fact that she was all things to all men. The dolphin was an attribute of other goddesses as well, such as Venus (Mrs. Couch's *diss.*, pp. 83–84; Eros, p. 87). The prominence of Eros (which has been pointed out above) by itself favors an associa-

[22] *AJA.* xliv, 1940, p. 379, and fig. 3. Note also the ship named "Isis Geminiana" in a painting at Ostia (M. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Rom. Emp.*, 1926, pl. xxi, no. 3).

[23] See also A. Alföldi's impressive study, which illuminates earlier periods as well; *A Festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperors of the IVth Century* (*Diss. Pannonicae*, Series 2, No. 7; Budapest, 1937), p. 47 *et passim*.

[24] Examples: Reinach, *Rép. Stat.* i, 609 $_{7}$; ii, 261–266; iv, 154–155, 253 $_{3}$; v, 109 $_{2, 6, 7}$; 492 $_{2, 3, 4, 5}$. Isis-Fortuna: R. Peter and W. Drexler in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* i, 2, cols. 1530–1533, 1549–1555, with figures. J. A. Hild in *DS.* ii, 2, p. 1273 and fig. 3242.

[25] On personification of the sea in ancient poetry and art, see A. Gerber in A. Fleckeisen, ed., *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplbd. 13, 1884, pp. 266–269.

tion with Venus, but it seems doubtful whether we should be thus strict and literal. For the frieze on the sandal of Athena Parthenos the subject of the Lapiths and Centaurs was hardly inevitable, yet that was centuries earlier, when greater relevance might have been expected, especially since Athena Parthenos was a more individualized or specialized goddess than Isis. Originally Isis had no association with the sea. In the Hellenistic period, when she became a sea goddess, she must needs use the trappings of old-time sea deities.

Athenodoria. The epithet also has furnished arguments against the assignment of the foot to Isis Athenodoria.[26] Two Rhodian sculptors named Athanodoros are known. One of them was the second-named of the three sculptors of the Laocoön. To suppose that Athenodoria must refer to this sculptor,[27] then to find that the foot of Laocoön does not resemble the foot in the Conservatori,[28] and finally to argue that *therefore* the foot is not that of Isis Athenodoria, is unconvincing. The name Athenodoros was very common. Förster noted that Pliny (*NH.* xxxiv, 86) mentions a sculptor named Athenodoros who was famous for statues of *feminae nobiles.* Nothing else is known about him.

The *Notitia*, however, was an official document, and it is highly unlikely that in this one instance—there is no other in the whole *Notitia*—a cult would be named for the sculptor of its statue.[29] It is likely, therefore, that Athenodoria refers to the dedicator. For this there is one clear parallel in the *Notitia:* Herculem Sullanum (Regio V), a dedication by Sulla.[30] Förster objected that a rich dedicator in Rome ought not to have a Greek name. This argument would have force as applied to the Conservatori sandal if that object could not be dated later than the first century B.C. Since its style permits a date in the second century of our era, a Greek dedicator is quite within the realm of possibility.

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[26] Textual uncertainties should at least be noted. Manuscripts A B C of the *Curiosum* give the form *apenodariam;* of the *Notitia*, C has *atenodoriam;* and the "Descrizione Interpolata," which formerly went under the name of P. Victor, has *antenodoria* (Valentini, pp. 137, 180, 242). Andreas Fulvius (1517 A.D.; above, p. 248) knew the form as *antenodorica.*

Certain epithets in the *Notitia* certainly or probably derive from the names of *vici*: Apollinem Sandalarium (Regio IV), Isidem Patriciam? (Regio V), ? statuam Valerianam (Regio XIV); but there is a definite probability that Athenodoria does not refer to a *vicus*, which otherwise would be unknown. We know 12 of the 17 *vici* in Regio XII, and the "Descrizione Interpolata," which lists 12 *vici* (which it also gives as the total for Regio XII), does not give Isis Athenodoria in the list of *vici*. More decisively, it is all but inconceivable that a *vicus* should be designated by a Greek personal name.

[27] The identity of the Athanodoros who did the Laocoön is not established positively. One other sculptor of the same name and family is known (most recently C. Blinkenberg in *RM.* 42, 1927, pp. 177–192). It seems clear that the craft of sculpture, as I shall hope to show elsewhere, was frequently transmitted from father to son. Hence some other Athanodoros of the same family, but not otherwise known, might be the sculptor.

[28] "No two feet in Europe are so dissimilar as the feet of our fragment and of the Laocoön" (Dickins).

[29] The statue of Apollo by Skopas was removed from Rhamnous to Rome and set up in a temple (Valentini, p. 129). Abstractly, we might conceive that the temple could have been named as that of the Scopasian Apollo; but doubtless this was never even considered; it was called the *aedem Apollinis Ramnusii* (*Notitia*, Regio X).

Visconti (p. 40) found three instances of statues named for their sculptors, but all three are mentions in poets.

[30] Visconti (p. 40) mentions two parallels not in the *Notitia*: Isium Metellinum and Diana Planciana.

NEW BLACK-FIGURE VASES

THE plaque and the two neck-amphorae published here belong to Mr. B. W. J. Kent, of Tatefield Hall, Harrogate; the hydria to the Manchester Museum. The plaque (fig. 1), said to have been "found in the temples of Paestum, bought on the spot,"

FIG. 1.—KENT COLLECTION. HANDLE-PLAQUE OF ATTIC COLUMN-CRATER

is the handle-plate of a column-crater, proved by the traces of the stirrups to have been about 34 cms. in diameter below the handles; the clay is Attic. The face is purple; otherwise, there is no added color, although it is possible that the red has flaked off the neck and shoulder. Similar, but later and more careless, heads occur on a column-crater in Oxford,[1] attributed to the Sakonides-Lydos group, and on the necks of ovoid neck-amphorae belonging to the same group.[2] A head, which stands close to our head in the use of purple and in the treatment of hair, beard, eye, ear, but is slightly later, has recently been found in Athens.[3] The triplet hair of our head is commonest in the Sophilus period, but occurs sporadically later.[4] The flat-bottomed eye is also found on vases dated early in the second quarter of the century, e.g. the C cups and on an amphora of Panathenaic shape in Bonn.[5]

It seems therefore reasonable to date our plaque about 570 B.C. and to regard it as a link between the Sophilus group and the Lydos-Sakonides group. In it can be seen the large and clear forms of early Attic sculpture, the same patterning, and the same decorative stylization of hair, eyes, and ears.

[1] Rumpf, *Sakonides*, No. 95. Cf. also handle-plaques, *CVA*. Oxford, 2, pl. 12, 7 and California, pl. 19, 1.

[2] Rumpf, Nos. 50, 51, 55, 57, 58, 60.

[3] Fragmentary neck-amphora, *Hesperia* vi, p. 126, fig. 68a.

[4] E.g. Rumpf No. 26 (plate); *JHS*. 1932, p. 178, fig. 14 (Little Master cup).

[5] *AA*. 1935, col. 423, No. 11.

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The Manchester hydria (figs. 2 and 3)[6] has a heraldic group of panthers and sirens on the shoulder; on the body Peleus wrestling with Atalanta, watched on each side by two figures, the inner male, the outer female. Added white is used for Atalanta's flesh (now disappeared, but Micali speaks of "figure bianche"), chiton of youth on the right, probably also for the women's and the sirens' faces. Added red is used for three lines on the black strip below the main scene; fillet in Atalanta's hair, Atalanta's loin cloth; Peleus' beard; old man's beard, chiton, and strip of himation; youth's hair and stripe on himation; women's himatia;[7] upper bud of central shoulder ornament; wings of sirens; necks and flank stripes of panthers; filling ornament behind siren's wing; alternate tongues below neck.

Stylistically the Manchester hydria belongs to the Lydos-Sakonides group and finds its closest analogies in a plate in Athens and a crater in Oxford.[8] In shape it is very like the hydria in the Villa Giulia and one of the same general group in Bonn [9] which has a similar wrestling scene; it appears to be a transition between two hydriae in the Louvre.[10] Penguin women occur on many vases by Sakonides and the members of his group; [11] our mantle figures are similar to those on the crater in the Ashmolean Museum and on the plate in Athens,[12] on which Peleus has a face resembling our old man's and a chiton like our young man's. The treatment of the hair and the profile of Atalanta is close to that of the sphinx on Vatican 309; and on the amphora from Tarentum [13] Theseus fighting the Minotaur wears a loin cloth embroidered with a rosette.

Considering in more detail the inner marking of the figures we may compare with ours the shape of the eyes on the plate in Baltimore and the knees and ankles of the Metic fragment; [14] the ears on the cup in Cambridge [15] are a later development than those on our vase. The eyes of the women can be faintly distinguished and are like those on the early Sakonides cups.[16] We see buds between antithetic animals on the neck-amphorae in Munich, Berlin and Florence; [17] and dot rosettes and panthers, sirens and sphinxes on a neck-amphora in Florence [18] which may be compared with the panthers and sirens on our vase. The Florence vase also has revellers with knee-markings similar to ours. From these comparisons I think we are justified in assigning the Manchester hydria to the Sakonides-Lydos group and from the dating of its vases in placing this about 565 B.C.

An athletic contest is a common subject at this time. There are also many representations of Theseus slaying the Minotaur, Achilles arming and such themes. It is

[6] I am indebted to Professor J. D. Beazley for the suggestion which I have verified that this is identical with the vase figured by Micali, *MonIned.*, pl. 41, and according to him found at Veio in 1842.

[7] The cloak is probably square and hung round the shoulders and over both arms, so that the corners fall level beneath the hands.

[8] Rumpf, Nos. 26 and 95.

[9] Rumpf, No. 76; Greifenhagen, *AA.* 1935, 449, No. 25, fig. 37, comparing the Timagoras hydriae, Hoppin, *A Handbook of Greek Black-Figured Vases*, p. 358 f.

[10] E869; 870; *CVA.* III, Hd., pl. 12, 3 and 4.

[11] Rumpf, Nos. 46, 48, 50, 51, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, etc.

[12] Rumpf, No. 95 (Ashmolean); No. 26 (Athens).

[13] Rumpf, No. 49 (Vatican); No. 65 (Tarentum); cf. Rumpf, No. 75.

[14] Rumpf, No. 28 (Baltimore); No. 25 (Metic fragment).

[15] Rumpf, No. 18.

[16] Rumpf, Nos. 1, 10; cf. No. 26, Thetis.

[17] Rumpf, Nos. 57, 58, 54, 55.

[18] Rumpf, No. 46. Dot rosettes also occur on Nos. 58 and 83.

FIG. 2.—MANCHESTER MUSEUM. ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE. HYDRIA. PELEUS AND ATALANTA

FIG. 3.—MANCHESTER MUSEUM. ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE. HYDRIA. SHOULDER

pleasant to think that this was due to the policy of Solon and Pisistratus who fostered a new national spirit for the new Athens they were creating by encouraging recitals from Homer and the old epic poets who glorified the legendary past; by instituting the Panathenaic festival at which athletic and poetic contests were held and by stimulating art and trade so that immigrants were attracted to practice their arts in Athens. At the contests judges held staffs of wood like that of Achilles in *Iliad* i, and our old man is *Agonothetes* and judge like Achilles in *Iliad* xxiii, 700 f. Micali identified our scene with the wrestling match of Peleus and Atalanta [19] at the funeral games of Pelias, and thus it both adds a chapter to the Peleus-Achilles story and provides a mythical ancestor for contemporary wrestling scenes.

The animals on the shoulder are a survival from a quarter of a century before when they often formed the main decoration of a vase, but sphinxes, panthers, lions and sirens are still so plentiful that they must have had a great attraction for the Athenians; they reminded them of the rich Ionian tapestries which Homer must have admired and which in turn illustrated Homer's songs. They have nothing to do with Oedipus, Odysseus, or Herakles; [20] they are symbols of strength to protect the vase and by making it long lasting make it a fitter offering to the dead, the lover or the god. It is not until the fifth century that they signified to the Greeks the conquest of brute force by the human mind.

Mr. Kent's ovoid neck-amphora (figs. 4 and 5) has a palmette-lotus cross on the neck, six dancers on one side of the body, and a swan between two panthers on the other. The use of added red can be seen plainly on the photographs, but it may be noted that the dancing men next to the handles both have red hair and beards, the youth has a white fillet and the panthers have white foreheads. A bud on a curling stems grows from one handle and under the other is a circle of dots.

A number of ovoid amphorae have been attributed to the Sakonides-Lydos group and ours finds its nearest analogy in one in Florence,[21] which has naked dancers like our figures. The mantle figure in the Judgment of Paris there provides the closest analogy for our bearded heads. The male figure on an Acropolis fragment [22] is very like several of our figures and has similar inner markings. The head and eye of the boy resemble the flying deity on a plate in Athens; [23] the profile is like the figures on the Froehner fragment,[24] which also has an ear like the sixth dancer and collar bones like those of our dancers. Similar ears also occur on the Panathenaic amphora.[25] The dotted filling ornament is paralleled on two vases attributed to Sakonides [26] and on the neck-amphora in Rhodes which has already been quoted. A single bud springs from under the handle on several contemporary vases; [27] the dot circle under the

[19] Thetis is always fully clothed when she wrestles with Peleus. Atalanta wears a short chiton on the inscribed Chalcidian hydria in Munich and on the Bonn hydria (see above). She wears a loin cloth on the inscribed Etruscan mirror (Roscher, *Lexicon* 1842) and on black-figure vases: Berlin, 1837; Munich, Jahn 584, 886.

[20] Cf. Kenner, *JOAI.* xxxi, 87; Webster, *Manchester Memoirs* lxxxiii, 190.

[21] Rumpf, No. 46; cf. also the neck-amphora from Rhodes (*CVA.* 2, pl. 1, 3), head, profile and ear of bearded man; note that the end of his beard has been restored, but the end of his nose is apparently ancient.

[22] Rumpf, No. 17. [23] Rumpf, No. 29. [24] 'Εφ. 1937, 14.

[25] Rumpf, No. 45. [26] Rumpf, Nos. 41, 56. [27] See Jacobsthal, *Ornamente* 76.

4.—Kent Collection. Attic Black Figure. Ovoid Neck-Amphora. Panthers and Swan

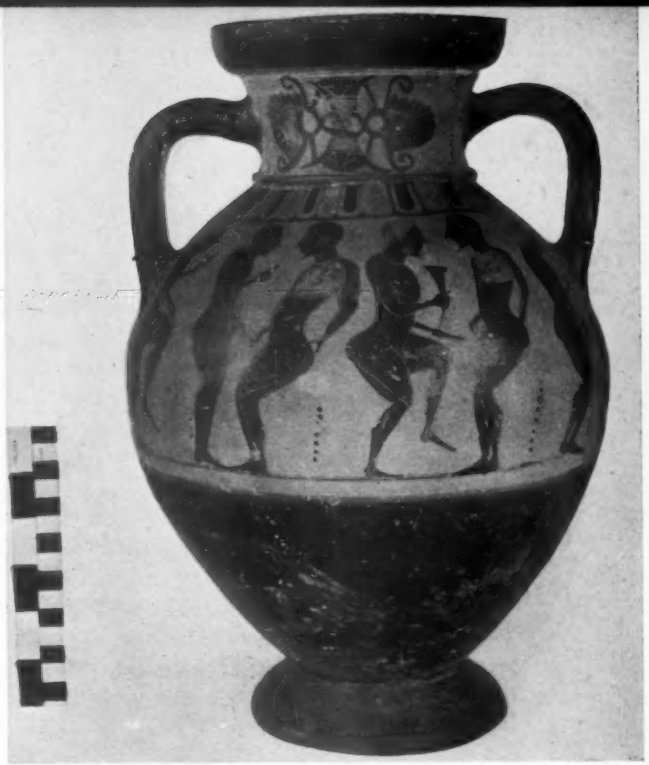
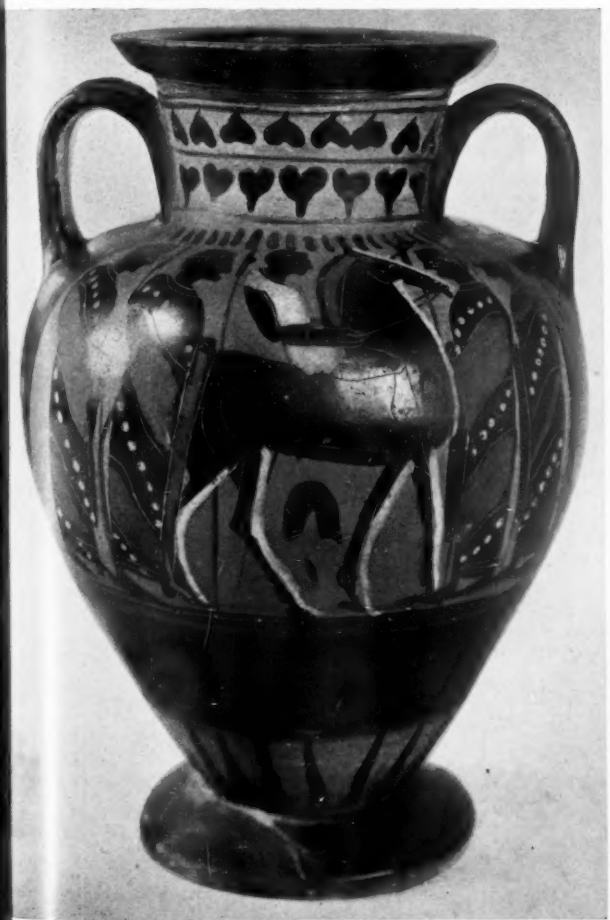


Fig. 5.—Kent Collection. Attic Black Figure. Dionysiac Dancers



6.—Kent Collection. Attic Black-Figure. Neck-Amphora. Rider

Fig. 7.—Kent Collection. Attic Black-Figure. Neck-Amphora. Rider

other handle occurs as filling on both sides of the neck-amphora in Rhodes.[28] Very similar panthers are found on the covered cup in Brussels, on a fragment from the Acropolis, on the rim of the New York crater, on the Acropolis dinos and on a neck-amphora.[29] The panthers on the Brussels cup and on the neck-amphora have red necks; the panther on the Acropolis dinos has a white forehead.

The dancing men are probably celebrating in a Bacchic thiasos and are very similar in their attitudes to those on the neck-amphora in Florence.[30] Our dancers are executing two steps, a hopping step (the first and fourth) and a step which is either the beginning or end of a jump (second, third, fifth and sixth). Both these steps can be paralleled on contemporary Attic [31] and on earlier Corinthian vases.[32] On the Attic vases the figures are sometimes grotesquely distorted (notably the first and fourth on our vase). It is reasonable to suppose that this is a reminiscence of the padding worn in front and behind by Corinthian dancers. The padded Corinthian dancers are represented on Attic cups of the Comast group, but soon are changed into naked dancers like ours.[33] The Corinthian dancers are sometimes in the company of Dionysus;[34] they are, therefore, probably taking part in a Dionysiac celebration.[35] On Attic vases from about 560 B.C. Dionysus himself appears among the dancers,[36] and the dancers themselves are gradually ousted by satyrs and maenads; after that there is a clear separation between the dance of satyrs and maenads round Dionysus and the ordinary red figure Komos [37] which marches through the streets of Athens. Our dancers then represent the dramatic festivals in honor of Dionysus which later develop into tragedy,[38] but they are also very like the padded dancers on Corinthian vases, whose steps [39] and whose costumes [40] recurred much later in Attic comedy.

Mr. Kent's rider amphora (figs. 6, 7) belongs to a group which derives from the Sakonides-Lydos group. It consists of craters, amphorae and hydriae. The distinctive things are the rough shape, the ivy leaf pattern and the figures who wear himatia decorated with white spots and red stripes and whose clenched hands are stylized as volutes. The ivy leaves occur on all the published vases of the group, framing the pictures on the hydriae and craters and above the main scene on the amphorae.[41] A hydria found in Corinth [42] is by the same hand as our vase. It has a

[28] This vase stands at least very close to Sakonides, if it is not a slightly later work by his hand; in addition to the parallels already quoted the panthers on the back have a general likeness to those quoted in the next note and the markings on the hind-quarters of the sphinxes can be compared with Rumpf, No. 48.

[29] Rumpf, Nos. 39, 40, 91, 110, 60, cf. also the panthers on the neck of No. 46.

[30] Rumpf, No. 46; a Corinthian amphoriskos of the same date (Payne, *NC.* No. 1359, pl. 38, 1, 5) has a similar scene but the dancers are of the familiar Corinthian padded kind.

[31] E.g. Louvre, E827, 860.

[32] E.g. Payne, *NC.* pls. 20,1; 21,8; 34,2.

[33] E.g. Payne, *NC.* pl. 51, 1, 6; there is no evidence for an earlier unpadded Attic comast type; the vases quoted by Greifenhagen, *Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*, 41, are later, not earlier.

[34] Payne, *NC.* p. 121.

[35] The old interpretation of them as Daemones has recently been revived by Brommer, *Satyroi.*

[36] E.g. Paris, Louvre E860, *CVA.* III, Hd, pl. 6, 2.

[37] E.g., Pfuhl, fig. 422.

[38] Cf. Greifenhagen, 66, with N. 127.

[39] Cf. Schnabel, *Kordax*, 1 f.

[40] Cf. Payne, *NC.* 124.

[41] Three other neck-amphorae have ivy sprays on the neck and may be produced by the same workshop, but must be considerably later and under another stylistic influence, Mingazzini, pl. lxxix, 6; *CVA.* Brit. Mus., pl. 70, 6 and 7.

[42] *Hesperia* 1938, p. 557, fig. 1.

warrior watched on either side by two draped figures who have white spots on their clothes and the heads closely resemble those on our amphora. A hydria in Bonn,[43] which may be earlier than the rest of the group, has two mantle figures with similar heads and hands. Midway between the two hydriae comes Vatican 315 [44] which has mantle figures with striped and spotted cloaks and similar heads. With this vase Professor Beazley [45] connects fragments of column-craters in Oxford and amphorae in the Vatican and in London.[46] The London amphora has the characteristic spotted and striped cloaks. It is connected with Villa Giulia, No. 467, by Beazley, [47] and by Lullies [48] with Munich Nos. 1367, 1368 and 1369; the profiles of the figures on Munich 1367 and 1369 are particularly like ours.

Professor Beazley says that the style of the Oxford fragments is akin to that of the Lydos group. Their affinities with some of the rougher ovoid amphorae [49] and hydriae [50] is obvious (Rumpf, No. 50 has the hands stylized as volutes) and the mantle figures are a coarser edition of the figures on the amphorae at Taranto and in the Cabinet des Médailles and the London psycter.[51] These last vases should be dated about 550 B.C.; our neck amphora is between them and the later ivy-leaf neck-amphorae [52] which are themselves to be dated by their style about 520 B.C.; it will, therefore, probably have been made about 540 B.C.

As the rider on our neck amphora has taken off his chlamys, he is probably setting out to take part in a horse-race or has returned victorious. A Panathenaic amphora in Bonn [53] has two riders, one with a spear, about a central tripod; this proves that a rider with a spear could take part in a race. Other vases of our group seem to show athletic victors: Mingazzini 467 has a runner on one side and an armed runner on the other; the London vase has a wrestler or boxer who may be compared to the athlete returning home with his tripod on an amphora in Boulogne.[54] The early Bonn hydria has a representation of a mythical athletic contest, Peleus and Atalanta. Thus we may see on our vase a victor in the *Hippikos agon* of the Panathenaea being greeted by his friends.

Mr. Kent's neck-amphora with Theseus and the Minotaur (figs. 8, 9) came to him from the Gott collection. It has been badly broken but well repaired. The handles are triple, there are red plastic rings under the lip, at the base of the neck, and at the base of the body. Most of the added color is clear from the photographs. The following points may be noted. Theseus' chiton is white, as are his sword hilt and baldric. Three spots of red blood pour from the Minotaur's wound. The onlooker's himation has a white triple spot above the red stripe; he wears, like Theseus, a red fillet in his hair. On the back, Dionysus' ivy wreath has alternate red and black leaves. His cloak has white seven-dot rosettes; Ariadne's has white five-dot rosettes. Ariadne

[43] Greifenhagen, *AA.* 1935, col. 449, No. 25, fig. 37.
[44] Albizzati, pl. 37.
[45] Text to *CVA.* Oxford, 2, pl. 2, 9.
[46] Vatican 314, Albizzati, pl. 37; *CVA.* Brit. Mus., pl. 23, 4.
[47] *JHS.* 1931, p. 299.
[48] Text to *CVA.* Munich, 1367.
[49] E.g. Rumpf, Nos. 50, 58, 60. Rumpf attributes the Oxford fragments and Vatican 315 to Sakonides himself (No. 81, 108 in his list).
[50] E.g. Rumpf, No. 76 with the Bonn hydria; No. 80 with the Corinth hydria.
[51] Rumpf, Nos. 65, 63, 75.
[52] See above n. 9, p. 8.
[53] Greifenhagen, *AA.* 1935, col. 423, No. 11.
[54] *BSA.* xxxii, pl. 1, 1.

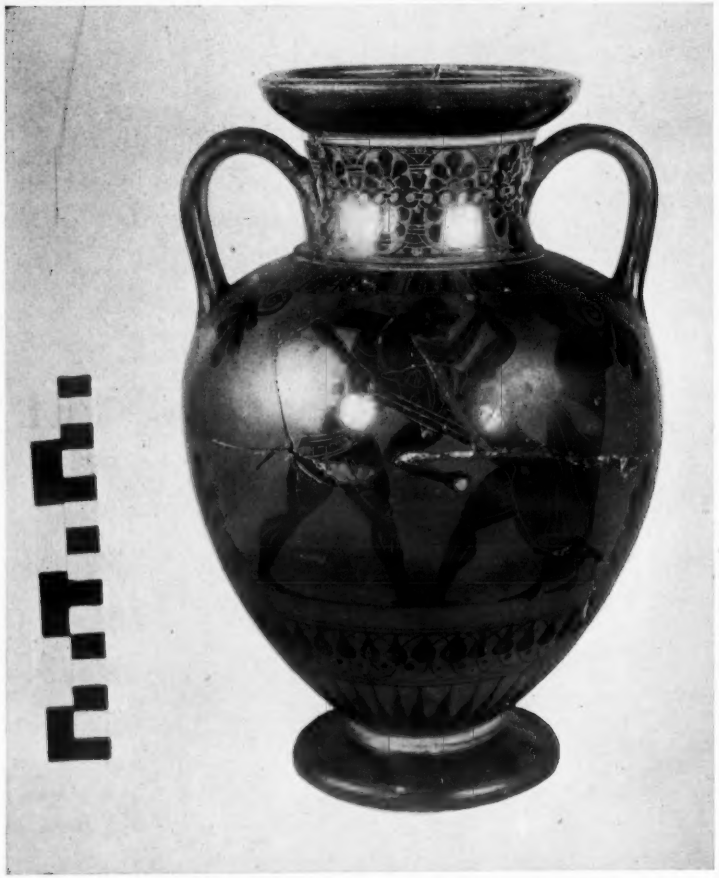


FIG. 8.—KENT COLLECTION. ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE. NECK-AMPHORA. THESEUS AND MINOTAUR

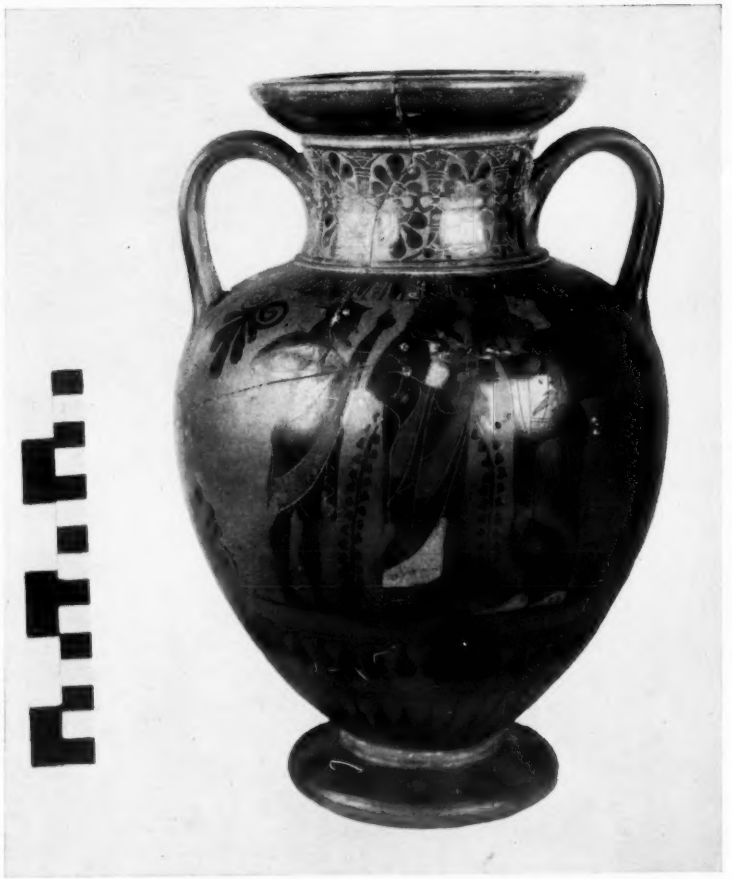


FIG. 9.—KENT COLLECTION. ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE. NECK-AMPHORA. DIONYSOS

wears a red fillet which falls down to her shoulders; her eye is painted red. From the handles depends a system of four palmettes at the end of curving stems and three buds, two horizontal and one vertically downwards; in the space between the stems of the buds is a cross with dots in its quadrants.

Although I am unable as yet to identify the painter of this vase, it has noteworthy connections both with the Sakonides group and with the Lysippides painter group. The heads are like those on the Sakonides cups in Cambridge and London.[55] The ears are exactly like those on the Pinax from the Acropolis;[56] compare particularly our Dionysus and the onlooker in the Theseus scene with the left-hand figure of the pinax. There are similar ears on the cups in Cambridge and London. The Cambridge cup also has elbows and knees very like those on ours. At the same time the Lysippides painter's Oxford neck-amphora [57] has a Dionysus with head and ears similar to ours. The folds on the Würzburg neck-amphora,[58] though more elaborate, and those on the shoulder figures of the hydria in London [59] are at much the same stage of development as ours. Vases "in the manner of the Lysippides painter" also have similarities. Dionysus and the white-hatted Hermes on Würzburg 267 [60] are not unlike the corresponding figures on our vase, and the bystander in the Theseus scene resembles the young man on the right on the shoulder of the London hydria.[61] The three-stroke knee on the Würzburg vase and on London B208 [62] seems to go back to Group E [63] and recurs again in our Minotaur. Two other vases [64] belong to the same general group and are like ours in shape and handle ornaments; one [65] also has similar markings of knees and elbows.

Our vase belongs to a class of neck-amphorae of which some of the closer examples [66] have been quoted in the last paragraph and which stands between the neck amphorae of Exekias and the later canonical neck amphorae of the Antimenes painter and his fellows. Theseus and the Minotaur is a favorite scene on Attic black-figure vases—the onlooker may be interpreted either as one of the Athenians who was offered to the Minotaur or may be part of the audience at some presentation of the story in Athens.[67]

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[55] Rumpf, Nos. 18 and 14. [56] Rumpf, No. 35. [57] Beazley *ABS*. No. 4.
[58] Beazley No. 8. [59] Beazley No. 10. [60] Beazley "manner," No. 5.
[61] Beazley "manner," No. 8. [62] *CVA*. pl. 48, 1. Beazley, *JHS*. 1934, p. 91.
[63] E.g. *BSA*. xxxii, pl. 2. [64] Cab. Méd. 227, 229; *CVA*. 1, pls. 35,4; 41,4. [65] No. 229.
[66] Louvre F60 by the Swinger has the same shape and similar patterns; cf. *Manchester Memoirs* lxxxiii, p. 200.
[67] Cf. Greifenhagen on the spectators of the Komos, *Schwarzfigurige Vasengattung*, p. 66.

SOME LATE ANTIQUE PORTRAITS*

FIVE marble portraits of the third century A.D. in the Walters Art Gallery are illustrative of the various currents in movement during the last great period of Roman portraiture. Two of them come from an old Roman collection and therefore presumably were found near Rome. They show the great realism always observable in portraits truly Italic, and one of them a delicacy of treatment peculiar to the period. The other three are said to have come from Greece and Asia Minor; two show the restraint, the tinge of Classicism, which could never be obliterated on Hellenic soil; the third a stylization which suggests that it really is Syrian.

First let us look at the only woman's head, since it was in female portraits that this period excelled (figs. 1–3). This is a tiny head, only six and a half inches (.165 m.) high, including the neck. While it was in the Massarenti Collection in Rome it was wrongly attached to a statue of the goddess Fortuna.[1] It has recently been removed, cleaned and remounted. It is of fine-grained Italian marble, the grains distinct enough to have a slight sparkle, but not large enough to interfere with the high polish, the jewel-like complexion of the lady. The only damages are the loss of the tip of the nose, a chip from the left eyebrow, and a chip from the braid of hair at the right. File marks on the neck probably were caused when the head was attached to the statue of Fortuna. Three diagonal scratches on the left eyebrow and one on the right may be the remains of incised eyebrows otherwise obliterated by modern polishing. The surface of face and hair were very carefully and delicately worked, but the drill was used to cut the pupils of the eyes, the centers of curls before the ears and the internal parts of the ears, and to free the hair mass from the neck.

The face is realistically modelled with a high and slightly bulging forehead, deep sunk eyes, deep holes at the corners of the mouth, an upper lip projecting slightly beyond the lower, a strong depression below the lower lip, a beaked nose, and lines at the corners of the nose. The lines tactfully tell us that the subject is no longer young. The recesses at the inner corners of the eyes are hollowed out. The cornea is outlined by an incised half circle and each pupil is a drilled dot, cut off by the upper lid. The eyes are rolled to the right. This position of the eyes, as well as some peculiarities of modelling, gives the right side of the face when seen in profile a pleasant expression, the left a hard, sad look. The ears are very large. The hair is parted in the middle and combed in perfect undulations into a broad mass spreading out across the back of the neck and curving around the ears. The end is braided and looped to the left around the top of the head, the small end being tucked from the left under the braid at the back.

The style of modelling places this head within the first half of the third century A.D. The hair arrangement is one which began with Julia Domna, founding lady of the Syrian family of the Severii, and continued for more than a generation, with the

* This paper was to have been read at the meeting of the College Art Association, scheduled for Baltimore, January, 1943.

[1] Walters Art Gallery no. 23.206. E. Van Esbroeck and others, *Catalogue du Musée au Palais Accoramboni*, Rome ii, 1897, p. 145, no. 22 (Ceres).

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FIG. 1.—HEAD OF EMPRESS OTACILIA (?), RIGHT PROFILE.
WALTERS ART GALLERY

FIG. 2.—HEAD OF EMPRESS OTACILIA (?), FRONT VIEW.
WALTERS ART GALLERY

FIG. 3.—HEAD OF EMPRESS OTACILIA (?), LEFT PROFILE.
WALTERS ART GALLERY

knot at the back of the neck gradually growing higher into a loop over the top of the head. Hekler places the high loop in the reign of Gordian III (238–244 A.D.), but this limitation seems to be a little too narrow.[2] The evidence for dating the headdress is, of course, portraits on coins. Sometimes the coil spreads out to the full width of the head as on ours, sometimes it is comparatively narrow. There is no coin evidence about this distinction, since the difference would not show in profile view.[3]

The head wears no diadem, and so gives no evidence of imperial connections, but recently there has been acquired by Amherst College another marble head, presumably the same woman at a greater age. This makes it probable that she was of royal line, for a private citizen is not likely to have had enough portraits to leave us two.

FIG. 4.—COIN WITH PORTRAIT OF EMPRESS OTACILIA

Now if we inspect the coin portraits of imperial women of the age, we see a resemblance to that of Otacilia, wife of the emperor Philip, who ruled from 244 to 249 A.D.[4] This empress appears in various types, some apparently idealized, others realistic. Usually she is shown as no longer young, with a slightly arched nose, pursed lips, deep holes at the corners of her mouth, a sharp chin, and just a suspicion of a fold below the chin. Sometimes, as in our fig. 4, these characteristics are very pronounced; sometimes they are smoothed out to permit a more conventional, supposedly more beautiful profile.

A number of marble portraits have been designated Otacilia on the basis of various coins.[5] They do not resemble each other very closely. One in Rossie Priory and one in the British Museum are very like each other but differ from the coins in having a longer chin, a projecting lower lip and a nose not bent enough. An example in Copenhagen and one in Toulouse are very like one another and are rather young and simple, with features less sharply individualized. They resemble the least characterful of the coin portraits. The Walters head, when seen in profile, bears the greatest resemblance to the most realistic of the coin portraits. With it we may class the Amherst one, which unhappily lacks a nose. They have rather a better claim than some of the others to be portraits of this empress. None of the

[2] Hekler, *Portraits Antiques*, p. XXXVIII.

[3] Two heads with hair arrangement identical with ours are dated by Albizzati in the late fourth century, *Historia* iii, 1929, pp. 401 ff., figs. 1–5. These copied the hair arrangement from the earlier period.

[4] Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, pl. CXXVI, nos. 11, 12; Hekler, *op. cit.*, pl. 311, no. 15. Our fig. 4 reproduced from Sale Catalogue, Egger xlv, 1913, pl. XXXIV, no. 1207.

[5] Heads of Otacilia previously identified:

1. Rossie Priory, Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses*, p. 109, no. 108.
2. British Museum, Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* ii, pt. 3, pl. XLIII.
3. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *Antike Kunstvaerker*, pl. LXIV, no. 754. Cf. no. 755 (very doubtful).
4. Toulouse, Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine* ii, pp. 90 f., no. 1001.
5. Vatican, Amelung, *Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums* i, pl. 47, no. 233.
6. Munich, Bernoulli, *op. cit.* ii, pt. 3, pl. XLIV (doubtful).

marble heads reproduces exactly the hair arrangement of the coins; the loop is not drawn as high on the head. Since the variety of profiles among the marbles is no greater than among the coins, we may accept the group of marbles as portraying the same person at various ages with greater or less fidelity to nature.

The second head is also from the old Massarenti Collection and is mounted on a draped bust of Renaissance date, its neck fitting against the edge of the drapery (fig. 5).[6] The entire nose and a piece on the left side of the chin are restored. The head turns sharply to the right and the eyes, under heavy overhanging brows, roll in the same direction.[7] Corneae are again incised half circles, pupils drilled dots sliced off by the upper lids. The cheeks are remarkably flat. The mouth is rather long, the lips full. The smooth parts of the face are polished to a glassy smoothness like the woman's face, for this head, too, is of an Italian marble which allows such polish. (The polish has been helped out in modern times). The eyebrows are incised. The moustache is incised and the beard is in low relief, grading off to incised lines at its edges. The hair is a plain mass with myriad short incisions.

FIG. 5.—PORTRAIT HEAD OF CARACALLA TYPE. WALTERS ART GALLERY

It might be debated whether or not this is a portrait of Caracalla. The eyes, shifty, beneath heavy crooked brows, are very like his. Against the identification one might say that the neck turns to the right instead of to the left as is customary for Caracalla,[8] that the chin is not cleft, that the hair is very short instead of in heavy curls,[9] and that the face is too flat. It is difficult to decide whether this flatness was really a characteristic of the subject or whether it shows the "subtle influence of slowly returning 'frontality,'" [10] not uncommon on Caracalla heads and on others of later date. The weight of probability is in favor of the head being that of a private citizen of Caracalla's time, showing the influence of his striking

[6] Walters Art Gallery no. 23.186. Van Esbroeck, *op. cit.* ii, p. 147, no. 30. Height of head and neck, 13″ (.33 m.).

[7] On Caracalla heads which turn to the left the glance is to the left. Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 376 f.

[8] But compare Hinks, *Greek and Roman Portrait-Sculpture* (British Museum) fig. 44 b.

[9] This technique occurs on a Caracalla head in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, *BMMA.* xxxv, 1940, pp. 139–142; *AJA.* xliv, 1940, pp. 439–442.

[10] Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 377.

visage. The final decision depends upon knowledge which as yet we do not have: which were commoner at this period, bad likenesses of emperors, or private portraits trying to look like even the ugliest of rulers?

Artistically and technically this head is far inferior to the preceding. Without basing any generality upon these two isolated specimens, we may remark that this difference is not surprising, coming in a period when sculptors were at their best in portraying feminine delicacy, at their worst when they tried to portray manhood.

The other three heads were bought at the same time. They are of various Greek marbles and since it is unlikely that marbles were exported for working at this period, one is tempted to think that each was carved rather near the source of the material. Two of them have a tinge of Classicism, a tendency to subordinate realism to spiritual quality, which we know to have been characteristic of Greek people throughout, as opposed to their Roman overlords. The last has something foreign to both races.

Most striking is a portrait of a middle-aged man with a hooked nose, short beard and moustache, and a mop of heavy hair over a low, broad forehead (figs. 6, 7).[11] It is said to have come from Athens. The marble is fine-grained and dull of finish, and may conceivably be Pentelic, though it lacks the brown color which Pentelic usually acquires with time. The forehead is realistically modelled, with a great swelling ridge at the bridge of the nose, and the eyes sink far behind the brows, each of their corneae and pupils indicated by a circle and a large dot cut off by the upper lid and centered so that the glance is forward. The moustache and beard are shown by short, broad, incised strokes. The brows, too, are rendered by incisions. On the hair mass in low relief are rather long locks, each curling slightly and lying one above another in carefully planned disorder.

Despite the mop of hair we must not think that the person is a barbarian. The custom of wearing the hair long was one which the Greeks preserved in opposition to the tendency of the Romans to cut the hair short. Again and again they returned to it. Artistically, too, it was a Greek tradition. This method of rendering the hair developed in Greece during the fourth century B.C., was exaggerated during the Hellenistic age, and persevered through the various treatments of Roman times, including the worm-eaten drilled technique, and is still holding its own here. A touch reminiscent of the great days of Greece is the little group of hairs springing up from the forehead above the left eye. But in wearing the short beard and moustache the subject and the artist have adopted a Roman fashion.

This head has parallels among the portraits of Athenian teachers, the *kosmetai*, which along with portraits of their pupils were arranged as memorials as well as decorations in the place of exercise of the gilded youth of the city through the silver twilight of Classical days. Many were found on the spot.[12] Others which may belong to the series were separated from it by accident and have been found in the excavation of the Athenian agora.[13] Graindor, in dating the series, observed that

[11] Walters Art Gallery no. 23.10. Height, 12″ (.305 m.). Acquired, 1924.
[12] Graindor, *BCH*. 39, 1915, pp. 241–401.
[13] *AJA*. xlii, 1938, p. 12, figs. 14, 15; *Hesperia* iv, 1935, p. 419, fig. 41.

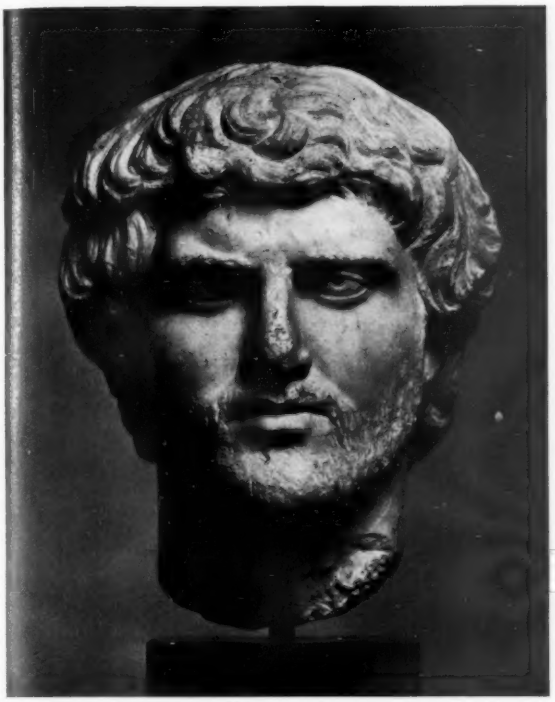

FIG. 6.—PORTRAIT HEAD, FRONT VIEW. MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D. WALTERS ART GALLERY

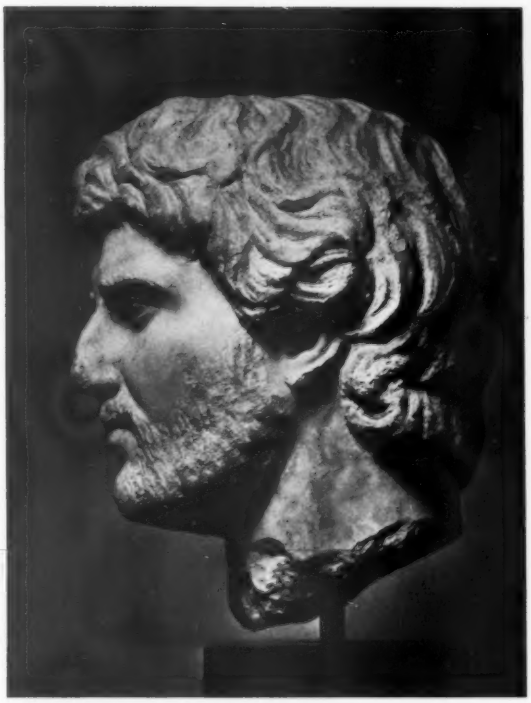

FIG. 7.—PORTRAIT HEAD, LEFT PROFILE. MIDDLE OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D. WALTERS ART GALLERY

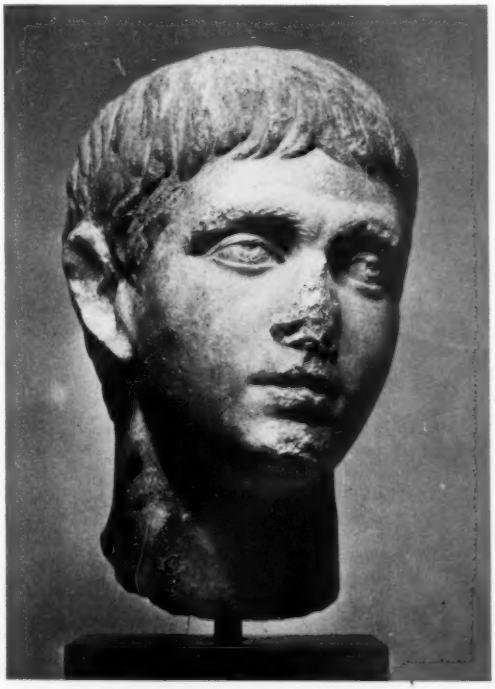

FIG. 8.—PORTRAIT HEAD, THREE-QUARTER VIEW. THIRD CENTURY A.D. WALTERS ART GALLERY

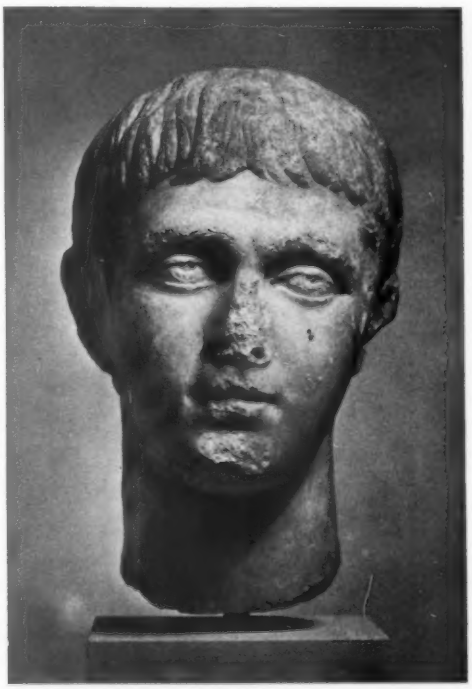

FIG. 9.—PORTRAIT HEAD, FRONT VIEW. THIRD CENTURY A.D. WALTERS ART GALLERY

long hair was usual during the reign of Gallienus,[14] to whose reign our head might be assigned.

Next comes a head of a very young man, anything but realistic (figs. 8, 9).[15] It is of crystalline island marble, and is said to have come from Asia Minor. Most of the nose is missing. It has short hair, combed down on the forehead, with a trace of a part just to the right of the center. The eyes are set far back beneath brows with incised hairs. There are very deep creases across the upper lids. The glance is forward. The cornea is rendered by an incised semicircle; the pupil by another semicircle incised very deeply with a broad line, so that the pupil seems to project. The inner corners of the eyes are cut realistically. There is a deep ridge across the bridge of the nose. The mouth is straight, with a not very cheerful expression. The cheeks are blank, but there is a strong indentation across the chin below the mouth.

In technique this head resembles those which we have been studying. Incised eyebrows and incised corneae are the same, and are typical of the third century. We also might regard certain shortcomings as indicative of the same period: the tower-like neck, the failure to cut the backs of the ears free of the hair mass, the lack of any carving within the ears, the total lack of plasticity in the hair, and the careless treatment of the back of the head.

When we study the subject we are immediately reminded of many well-known heads, all of the Julio-Claudian period and most of them grouped by Curtius, on the basis of the hair arrangement which they share with our head, as portraits of Tiberius when a young man.[16] Poulsen attacked the hair line as a criterion for positive identification, but did not question the similarity of most of the pieces to members of the first imperial family.[17]

Our portrait was made in a Classicizing school, based upon Julio-Claudian heads in general and in particular upon those of Tiberius. One such school is well known, the school of the Constantinian period.[18] Portraits of Constantine and of members of his family are regularly based upon those of the first emperors, having the simple features and absurdly simple hair line, and showing pupil, cornea and inner corner of the eye as on ours. However, the typical Constantinian head is much less plastic than ours, has less of the spirit of the earlier age. Also, during the fourth century there was a tendency to exaggerate the eye, to make it grow out of proportion to the face, at the same time that "frontality" became more extreme. I therefore suggest that our head is earlier than the time of Constantine, belonging to a sort

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 370, no. 29, fig. 30; p. 357, no. 23, pl. XXII. Graindor, however, dates one of these before, one after Gallienus. Two heads from the time of Gallienus with thick hair but with faces much less plastic than ours are in Frankfort (*BCH.* lii, 1928, pls. XVII, XVIII, and in Berlin, Blümel, *Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* ii, no. R 113, pl. 73). On classicism in portraits of the time of Gallienus see Rodenwaldt, *AA.* 1931, cols. 320 ff.

[15] Walters Art Gallery no. 23.11. Height 11½″ (.29 m.). Acquired, 1924. The nose was formerly restored in marble and plaster. A small amount of plaster now conceals the holes made for the restoration of the nose, and also reduces some of the damage to the chin.

[16] Curtius, *RM.* l, 1935, pp. 286–320.

[17] Poulsen, *Römische Privatporträts und Prinzenbildnisse* (Det Kgl. danske videnskaberneselskab, Archaeologisk-kunsthistoriske Meddelelser ii, 5).

[18] Delbrueck, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, pls. 26, 28, 48, etc.

of precursor of the Constantinian revival, and while yet in the third century, copying the first century with some true feeling.

The last head is of still another style (fig. 10).[19] It is that of a person with Semitic features and a mop of hair so heavy as to make his whole head pear-shaped. The hair divides over the forehead. It is worked with a number of flat chisel strokes into disordered locks. Nowhere is there any deep cutting. The surface is slightly rough and has traces of red paint, perhaps a final coating, perhaps the basis for gilding. In deliberate contrast to this rough and once colorful mass is the flat face. The nose (the tip is restored) is the only real projection from the vertical plane, and it takes a decided bend in its upper part, as if resolved to be interesting at all cost. The crude incisions which indicate eyebrows, moustache and beard are not attractive and seem to emphasize the lack of plasticity in the face. The mouth is an arc with ends pointing down, drawn as if with a compass. There is no modelling of the face at the corners of the mouth; the slit just runs down into nothing. The glance is to the right, the incised half circles of the corneae and the half moons of incision which frame the pupils being at the right of the centers. The eyes are wide open, almost popping out. At their inner corners they are not hollowed out, and at the outer corners there is no indication of the fold of the upper eyelid over the lower, something of which the Greek had been aware since the middle of the fifth century B.C. The eyes are like symmetrical almonds. Most striking is the lack of shadow under the eyes, due to the fact that the cheeks do not protrude beyond the plane of the eyes, and therefore run into the eyes without any break. Though the curves of the face are not deep, they have in common with those of some equally unplastic Greek archaic heads and some Mediaeval heads considerable subtlety, as if they had been worked with loving care.

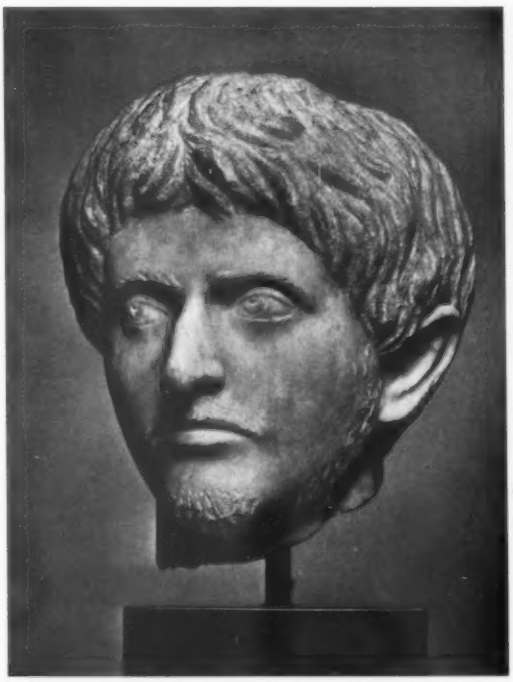

FIG. 10.—PORTRAIT HEAD. THIRD CENTURY A.D. WALTERS ART GALLERY

The lack of plasticity in a head which nevertheless belongs in the Classical cycle can best be explained on the grounds that it comes from the periphery of the empire.

[19] Walters Art Gallery no. 23.12. Height 10½″ (.28 m.). Acquired, 1924. The back of the neck was not cut free from a spur of the original block; it resembles the pillar at the back of an Egyptian statue.

Despite its supposed presence in Athens, there is much to be said for the proposition that its real origin was Syria.[20] Not only does this account for the features of the subject; it also explains the frigidity of treatment which is suggestive of the coming Mediaeval style, which, we must remember, owed much to Eastern sources. We may further note that there is no close parallel for this head within the fourth century, and therefore believe that for all its heralding of the coming change it really belongs in the middle of the third century, within the last great period of truly Roman portraiture, the period which we have been discussing.

These five heads, all to be dated within the third century A.D., illustrate the conflicting pressures of this interesting era: Roman realism at its most precise, and also realism which is coarse and brutal and not so exact; Greek classicism; and a stylization which heralds the dawn of a new day.[21]

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[20] I owe this suggestion to Professor Karl Lehmann-Hartleben. On this subject see V. Müller, *Zwei syrische Bildnisse römischer Zeit* (86. Winckelmannsprogramm, Berlin).

[21] For other related material see: Budde, "Kleinasiatisches Bildnis des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.," *JdI* liv, 1939, pp. 247–255; Kaschnitz-Weinberg, "Marcus Antonius, Domitian, Christus" (*Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Ges.*, Geisteswiss. Kl. xi. 14, 2), 1938; Müller, "Spätrömisiche Porträts in Dresden," *Antike Plastik, Walther Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, pp. 151–156; Mingazzini, "Sulla statue colossale di Alessandro Severo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli," *ibid.*, pp. 146–151; Rodenwaldt, *Griechische Porträts aus dem Ausgang der Antike* (76. Winckelmannsprogramm, Berlin).

THE DATE OF CERTAIN EGYPTIAN STRATIFIED EYE-BEADS OF GLASS

TYPE B of the stratified eye-beads in Eisen's valuable article on eye-beads has eyes in two rows, and includes two varieties: variety I has three eyes at one pole and four slightly smaller eyes at the opposite pole, with the eyes covering the whole surface and with little or none of the matrix shown, each individual eye consisting of one blue spot included in circles of brown and white; variety II has a yellow, green, or blue body, inlaid with two rows of eyes in blue and white (fig. 1). Both varieties have been found in tombs of the fifth century B.C. in Italy. Petrie discovered many of these beads in Egypt, mostly of variety I, and dated them to the XXIII rd Dynasty, or the eighth century B.C.[1] His opinion is shared by Wainwright,[2] Beck[3] and Allen,[4] but according to Eisen's research in Italy, not one bead of variety I found there is earlier than the fifth century B.C., and there are very few, if any, of variety II. Eisen, therefore, rightly suggested that Petrie had probably dated his beads too early, and that the Italian beads have been dated too late. Otherwise, we could not account for their absence in Italian tombs of the eighth-seventh centuries B.C.[5] After having carefully examined all available evidence relating to this material, I am convinced that Petrie's dating of these beads is certainly incorrect.

FIG. 1.—STRATIFIED EYE-BEADS FOUND IN EGYPT (Petrie Collection)

Mr. G. Brunton kindly informs me that none of this kind of stratified eye-beads was found in a large cemetery at Matmar which contains 700 or more unplundered tombs, and which is definitely dated to the XXII–XXV Dynasties. Besides this negative evidence, I have found some positive evidence to prove that this kind of bead should be dated to the fifth century B.C. or the Persian period in Egypt. In addition to the fifth-century tombs in Italy referred to by Eisen, the cemeteries of the Persian period both in North Syria [6] and Palestine [7] have produced this kind of bead in both varieties. Beads of variety II have been found in Europe in tombs of the end of the Hallstatt and the beginning of the La Tène period, that is, about the fifth-fourth centuries B.C.[8] Moreover, this kind of stratified eye-bead is not an isolated find, but always forms an archaeological group with other objects in the cemetery. The so-called "XXIII rd Dynasty" cemetery at Yehudiyeh produced the following characteristic objects: pendants in the shape of human heads and ram heads, made of colored

[1] W. M. F. Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, 1891, p. 26, pl. XXIX, 52, 53; *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 1906, pp. 17–18, pl. XIX; *Meydum and Memphis* iii, 1910, p. 37, pl. XXVIII, 135, 137; *Gerar*, 1928, p. 24, pl. XXII, 194, 196.

[2] Petrie and Wainwright, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa*, 1915, p. 35, pl. XXX, 3.

[3] H. C. Beck, "Classification and Nomenclature of Beads and Pendants," *Archaeologia* LXXVII, 1927, p. 64, fig. 62.

[4] T. G. Allen, *The Handbook of the Egyptian Collection, the Art Institute of Chicago*, 1923, p. 117.

[5] G. Eisen, "The Characteristics of Eye Beads," *AJA.* XX, 1916, pp. 14–16.

[6] C. L. Woolley, "North Syrian Cemetery of the Persian Period," *LAAA.* VII, pp. 115–129, pl. XXIX, figs. 13, 16.

[7] C. N. Johns, "Excavations at Atlit," *QDAP.* II, 1933, p. 52, pl. XXV, 642, and pl. XXVI, 662.

[8] J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie* iii, 1908–1914, pp. 358–9, fig. 364; iv, pp. 820–824, figs. 573–574.

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glass; small bronze bells; small amulets of gods and *ded*-pillars; *uzat*-eyes, either painted or carved; and bronze fibulae, besides the stratified eye-beads in question.[9] All of them occurred in the North Syrian cemetery of the Persian period,[10] and most of them (except the animated glass pendants and bronze bells) in the Palestinian cemetery of the same period.[11] Most of the objects mentioned have also been found in layer CD (Level 197–192) at Gerar, Palestine.[12]

Layer CD at Gerar was dated by Petrie to the eighth century B.C. I shall discuss briefly the problem of this dating, because Petrie's dates in this case are again too early and the layer in question should be placed in the fifth century B.C. (the Persian period). Besides objects such as were found in the cemeteries of the Persian period in North Syria and Palestine, this layer produced pottery which resembles a silver bowl in the British Museum and bronze vessels of the Persian period known in Egypt.[13] Thus, the whole archaeological group from this layer seems to be of the Persian period. The layer below, EF (Level 192–189), was dated by Petrie to the XXIInd Dynasty, and was called "the floor of Shashanq" (about 930 B.C.). Again, this dating is too early. This layer is evidently of the XXVIth Dynasty, that is, the period of the Scythian invasion of Syria (624–596 B.C.), as is proved by the presence of triangular bronze arrow-heads.[14] This type of weapon has been found in the cemeteries of the Persian period in North Syria and Palestine referred to above;[15] it is never found in Egypt until after the Scythian invasion of Syria.[16] It is extremely improbable that this weapon should have been plentiful in South Palestine 300 years earlier than in Egypt. In the same layer (Level 192–189), or the layer just below (Level 189–183), was found a series of bowls which are like some of the seventh century B.C. from Naucratis;[17] also a lot of Scythian objects, such as a pottery model of a square wagon, and of humped oxen, and a broad-bladed form of iron dagger,[18] besides triangular bronze arrow-heads. Petrie's dating of this layer EF rests mainly upon the amulet of the aegis of Bast which he regards as characteristic of the XXIInd Dynasty.[19] But this kind of amulet occurs throughout the XXII–XXVIth dynasties.[20] We should, therefore, date it to the lower margin (namely the XXVIth dynasty), in consideration of the presence of Scythian objects. In layer F (Level 189–183), which contained the Naucratite pottery of the seventh century B.C. referred to above, a jar-handle with Hebrew stamp,[21] such as occurs for the first time in the Jewish period (ca. 600–300 B.C.) was found;[22] also several iron-fur-

[9] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 17–18, pls. XVIII–XIX, and XXA.

[10] Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 126, pl. XXIX, 1 and 2 (animated glass pendants); pl. XXII, 27 (bells); pl. XXIX, 17 (amulets); pl. XXIX, 13, 16 (*uzat*-eye); and pl. XXIII (fibulae).

[11] Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 82, no. 664, pl. XXVI (*uzat*-eyes); pp. 48–49 (amulets) and fig. 13 (fibulae).

[12] Petrie, *Gerar*, p. 24, pl. LXVI, 1–3 (animated glass pendants); pl. XXII, 194, 196. This report is not available to me at the moment, but so far as I can remember, bronze fibulae, *uzat*-eyes and small amulets of gods seem to have occurred in this layer too.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 24, pl. LXV, 1–3.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 34, pl. XXIX, 13–22.

[15] Woolley, *op. cit.*, p. 121, pl. XXII, 28; and Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 56, fig. 14.

[16] Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 1916, p. 34, pl. XLI, 76.

[17] Petrie, *Gerar*, p. 21; *Corpus*, 7c, 7m.

[18] Petrie, *Gerar;* quoted also in Petrie's article in *Ancient Egypt*, 1928, pp. 101–104.

[19] Petrie, *Gerar*, p. 4, pl. XXI.

[20] Petrie, *Amulets*, 1913, p. 42, fig. 195.

[21] Petrie, *Gerar*, p. 19, pl. XLIII.

[22] *How to Observe in Archaeology*[2], 1929, p. 87.

naces,[23] along with many iron tools and weapons. The earliest iron-furnace found in Egypt was discovered at Naucratis, and was dated to the sixth century B.C.[24] If we follow Petrie's scheme, both the jar-handle with Hebrew stamp and the iron-furnaces must be dated ca. 1100 B.C. or earlier, and Petrie did so date them in his report. It seems to me almost certain that they should be dated to the XXVI th Dynasty, namely, about the seventh century B.C. or a little earlier. Independently, Lucas also came to the conclusion that Petrie's dating of the discoveries at Gerar was too early, considering the abundance of iron in this layer.[25] This higher dating is so contradictory to the known archaeological and documentary evidence that Petrie had to postulate a "Shishanq Migration" theory to account for the Scythian objects which occurred in his "XXII nd Dynasty" layer. Shishanq, the founder of that dynasty, was a "man of Susa." It was he and his followers, not the Scythians, who brought these objects of Central Asiatic type to Gerar in Palestine during their migration into Egypt.[26] This is a revival of his old heresy of the Assyrian origin of the XXII nd Dynasty,[27] which was refuted by Breasted; Shishanq was certainly of Libyan origin, as is proved by the Stelae of Harpeson.[28] The logical solution of this problem is to bring down the supposed "XXII nd Dynasty" layer to the XXVI th Dynasty (about the seventh century B.C.), and the supposed "XXIII rd Dynasty or eighth-century B.C." layer to the Persian period (about the fifth century B.C.).

After this Palestinian excursion, we may return to the Egyptian material, and see what will be the result of this alteration of date. The important cemeteries of the Late Period found at Yehudiyeh are dated by Petrie to the XXIII–XXV Dynasties. His chief argument seems to be that they are certainly later than the XXII nd Dynasty, and all the small amulets and eye-beads disappeared before the XXVI th Dynasty.[29] The first part of his argument is quite correct. But the *uzat*-eyes and other small amulets were certainly used in the Persian period, after the fall of the XXVI th Dynasty, and some of them found in Palestine and North Syria are well dated by associated coins, already referred to above. From Yehudiyeh we have one of the smooth, well-made *uzat*-eyes with black brows, which was associated with a scarab of Psammetik, and therefore belongs to the XXVI th Dynasty or later (bead no. 1240 in the Petrie Collection, London); according to Petrie's scheme, it would be dated to the earliest phase of the "XXIII Dynasty" group. Also in the Petrie Collection (bead no. 1400), a multi-colored eye-bead and bronze bell, dated by him to the XXIII rd Dynasty, were associated with a copper coin which, although too corroded to be definitely identified, is certainly of the Persian or Ptolemaic period. They are labelled with a tomb-number "236" only, but to judge by the label, come from either Saft el Henna or Yehudiyeh. I suspect that the "XXIII Dynasty" group is so placed by Petrie for the reason that there are only two possible dates for them, namely, either the XXIII–XXV period or the Persian period, and Petrie prefers the first alternative. But the XXV-Dynasty beads have a different style, as is proved by

[23] Petrie, *Gerar*, p. 14.
[24] Petrie, *Naucratis* i, 1886, p. 39.
[25] A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 1934, p. 406, n.
[26] Petrie, "The Shishanq Migration," *Ancient Egypt*, 1928, pp. 101–104.
[27] Petrie's article in the *Proceedings of Biblical Archaeology* XXVI, p. 284.
[28] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* iv, 1906, pp. 393–399, and the note on p. 399.
[29] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 17–18.

those associated with scarabs with royal names of that dynasty, as well as by Reisner's excavations of the royal tombs in Nubia. This group is limited to the XXIII–XXIV period if we follow Petrie's scheme. According to the available historical evidence, the XXIII rd Dynasty lasted less than a century, perhaps only about 50 years or less, and the XXIV th Dynasty only six years. It is too short a span of time for the rise, development and disappearance of a style as outlined by Petrie.[30] Another reason for Petrie's high dating is his assumption that the small amulets of semi-precious stones, such as those found in the tomb of Uza-hor (or Hor-uta) at Hawara, are dated to the XXVI th Dynasty. But they really belong to the XXX th Dynasty, or the early Ptolemaic period.[31] Petrie gave the date of the tomb of Uza-hor correctly, as of the XXX th Dynasty, in his early report,[32] but unfortunately he altered it to the XXVI th Dynasty in his later report and other works.[33] After having pushed back the material of the XXX th Dynasty to the XXVI th Dynasty, he is obliged to squeeze that of the Persian period into the obscure and short-lived XXIII rd Dynasty. It seems to me that there is no doubt that the supposedly "XXIII rd Dynasty" cemeteries at Yehudiyeh belong to the Persian period.

At Meydum and Kafr Ammar the same course has been followed. In one burial at Meydum, some stratified eye-beads were found together with *uzat*-eye amulets, and one of the stratified eye-beads was on a bronze earring. They are accordingly dated by Petrie to the XXIII rd Dynasty.[34] But a similar stratified eye-bead, also on an earring, was found in Palestine, here definitely dated to the fifth-fourth centuries B.C. by an associated coin.[35] Undoubtedly, those found at Meydum should be so dated too. A cemetery at Kafr Ammar was dated by its discoverer to the XXIII–XXV Dynasties, because of the presence of eye-amulets and beadwork mummy-nets.[36] But the occurrence of this type of *uzat*-eye amulets in the well-dated cemeteries of the Persian period in Palestine and North Syria has been referred to above, and it is almost certain that they occurred in Egypt at that period too. Beadwork mummy-nets occur abundantly as early as the XXII nd Dynasty, and lasted into the Ptolemaic period, as has been shown by finds at Dendereh [37] and at Armant.[38] We may reasonably assume that they should occur in the Persian period too. A tomb group from grave 69 at Kafr Ammar has a multi-colored eye-bead, a horned eye-bead, and some small eye-beads with blue spots outlined in circles of white and brown.[39] They are dated by Wainwright to the XXIII rd Dynasty, according to Petrie's scheme. The structure of the eye-beads is not recorded in the report, therefore it is not certain whether they were made by the stratified method or the cut-off rod method. As stated, a stratified multi-colored eye-bead in the Petrie Collection was associated with a bronze bell and a coin of the Persian or Ptolemaic

[30] Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 17–18.
[31] E.g. the well-dated specimens published in R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Bucheum*, 1934.
[32] Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, 1889, p. 9.
[33] Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, 1890, pp. 19–20; *Seventy Years of Archaeology*, 1931, p. 96.
[34] Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis* iii, p. 37, pl. XXVIII, 135–137.
[35] Johns, *op. cit.*, p. 104, pl. XXXVI, 991.
[36] Petrie and Wainwright, *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar and Shurafa*, p. 34.
[37] Petrie, *Dendereh*, 1900, p. 32; and also *MJ.* (University of Pennsylvania) viii, 1917, p. 234, fig. 94.
[38] Mond and Myers, *The Bucheum*, p. 128 (on the back of a bull).
[39] Petrie and Wainwright, *op. cit.*, p. 35, pl. XXX, 3; and pl. XXXII, 3.

period, and the bead itself can be dated to the fifth century B.C.[40] But compound eye-beads made by the cut-off rod method are dated to the end of the Ptolemaic or to the early Roman period.[41] The eye-beads with blue spots outlined in circles of brown and white are of two distinct types: a stratified type belonging to the fifth century B.C., as discussed in this article, and a cut-off rod type belonging to the Roman period.[42] From the picture given in the report, these small eye-beads seem to be of the latter type. The upper limit of the time-range of this cemetery at Kafr Ammar may reach the Persian period, but most of the tombs seem to be of the Ptolemaic and Early Roman periods, as shown by the beads and other evidence. For example, there are two types of tombs in this cemetery: one is a shaft-grave about 10 ft. deep, with wooden box-coffins which have a pent roof and four corner-posts; the other type is a large shaft-grave of great depth, in which the mummies had no coffins, but together with their bandages were one black pitchlike mass of resin.[43] The tomb type, coffin type, and the method of mummification are evidently of the Ptolemaic period,[44] perhaps a little earlier or later, but not of the XXIII rd Dynasty. The pottery, such as the handled pitchers of greenish-grey ware,[45] is also of the Persian or Ptolemaic period. Therefore the supposedly "XXIII Dynasty" cemetery at Kafr Ammar should be dated to the Persian or Ptolemaic period.

Owing to the neglect of research on materials of the Late Period, especially the Persian phase, confusion has often arisen between antiquities of the XXVI th Dynasty and those of the XXX th Dynasty. For instance, the garment of gold and faïence beads from the tomb of Zannehibou (or Thanehebu) at Saqqarah is dated by Vernier to the XXVI th Dynasty,[46] but is labelled "XXX Dynasty" in the Cairo Museum, following a more correct dating.[47] The famous painted tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel (Hermopolis) is dated to the period of the Persian conquest by some authors, but to the Macedonian conquest by others.[48] Our case is just another example of a higher dating due to a confusion of the antiquities of the XXVI th Dynasty with those of the XXX th Dynasty. This higher dating of archaeological materials of the Persian period seems to be responsible for the scarcity of remains from the 200 years of the Persian period found in excavation reports, especially in comparison with the short-lived XXIII rd Dynasty of the eighth century B.C.

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[40] Eisen, *op. cit.*, p. 17; text figure 14, and pl. I, 55, 56. [41] *Ibid.*, p. 21, figs. 55, 62.

[42] E.g. G. Brunton, *Qua and Badari* iii, 1930, p. 27, pls. XLV–XLVI, 176; some in the Cairo Museum (J. 70261) come from the Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul in Nubia, and are dated to the Byzantine period. [43] Petrie and Wainwright, *op. cit.*, p. 33, sec. 57.

[44] Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe*, p. 14; and I. E. S. Edwards, *A Handbook to the Egyptian Mummies and Coffins*, p. 46. [45] Petrie and Wainwright, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXIV, 60–69.

[46] E. Vernier, *Bijoux et orfévreries*, 1927, pp. 478–480, pl. CIII (Cat. 53668).

[47] Article in *Annales du Service des Antiquités* iii, 1903, p. 5.

[48] Ch. Picard, "Les influences étrangères au tombeau de Petosiris: Grèce ou Perse?", *Bull. Inst. Fr.* XXX, 1930, pp. 201–227, and the works cited there.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS AND DISCUSSIONS

NOTES ON RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATIONS SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

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Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

NECROLOGY

Sir Cecil Harcourt-Smith.—The *London Times* for March 29, 1944, reports the death of this eminent archaeologist on March 27, at the age of eighty-four. Born on September 11, 1859, he was educated at Winchester, and in 1879 joined the staff of the British Museum, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, of which he rose to be Keeper in 1904. During that period, he helped to found the *Classical Review*, and wrote many books and articles on the objects under his care. In 1887 he was temporarily absent on a diplomatic mission to Persia, and from 1895 to 1897 he was given leave of absence from the Museum to become Director of the British School at Athens. His service to the School was noteworthy—to him is due the founding of its *Annual* (*BSA.*) and the beginning of the important excavations at Phylakopi in Melos. Leaving the British Museum in 1908, he went to the Victoria and Albert Museum, of which he became Director in 1909 (when he was knighted) and continued in that post till 1925. In that year he became Adviser for the Royal Art Collections and in 1928 Surveyor of the Royal Works of Art, a post he held till the death of George V.

Sir Cecil became the recipient of many honorary degrees and other honors, both from his own country and other nations—was made a C.V.O. in 1917, and was promoted to K.C.V.O. in 1934. His publications include many in Greek archaeology. To the older workers in this field he was a much beloved colleague, while the younger justly regarded him as one of the truly great figures and pioneers in the profession. S.B.L.

Stanley Casson.—Announcement is made that Lieutenant-Colonel Stanley Casson was killed in action in April, 1944. This well known British archaeologist was born in May, 1889, and after serving with distinction through the First World War, was Assistant Director of the British School at Athens in the years immediately thereafter (1919–1922) and went from there to a post at Oxford. He was well known to Americans, not only through his service in Athens, but as a Visiting Professor at Bowdoin College in 1933–34, when he also gave lectures before various Societies of the Archaeological Institute, and read a paper at the General Meeting in Washington in 1933. In 1928–29, he conducted excavations in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. He was the author of many books—to archaeologists perhaps the best known is his completion of the late Guy Dickins' *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*—and during this war had written two others—*Greece Against the Axis* and *Greece and Great Britain*. He leaves his widow and one daughter. His death makes a vacancy among archaeologists in his own country which will be hard to fill, and registers his name among the glorious group in our profession who have given their lives for the cause of freedom and decency. S.B.L.

William Ledyard Rodgers, Vice-Admiral, U. S. Navy, retired, died after a long illness at the Naval Medical Center, Bethesda, Md., on May 7, 1944, at the age of eighty-four. Coming of a family identified with the United States Navy since its inception, he was graduated from the Naval Academy in 1878, and assumed the career of his forefathers, serving on various ships and stations, and rising through the grades until, at the time of the First World War, he was Commander-in-Chief of the Asiatic Fleet with the rank of Vice-Admiral. In 1924 he was retired, having reached the age limit for active service, and after his retirement took up research in naval history, his scholarly book, *Greek and Roman Naval Warfare*, the work of many years of travel and close study, appearing in 1937 (reviewed by Eugene S. McCartney in *AJA.* xlii, 1938, pp. 186–187). This book is of value to archaeologists and historians as being perhaps the only one of its kind in English to be written by, and from the point of view of, a professional seaman and naval officer. It was followed by one other book (on mediaeval naval

warfare up to the Battle of Lepanto) and a number of articles on the same and related subjects, all of which were of great originality and interest. His two books were published by the United States Naval Institute, of which he had previously, in 1923–24, been President. He was unmarried, and is survived only by a sister.. S.B.L.

Lacey Davis Caskey, October 22, 1880–May 20, 1944.—In Lacey Caskey the world loses both a distinguished scholar and a most lovable and gifted personality. Born at Honesdale, Pennsylvania, the son of the Reverend Taliaferro F. Caskey and Phoebe Lacey, he lived and was educated from 1882 to 1897 at an English school in Dresden, where his father was chaplain, and there he acquired a facility in languages which was to be of great service in his later work. After a brilliant career at Yale, he went in 1902 to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, where he was a Fellow and, from 1905 to 1908, Secretary, eventually becoming a member of its Managing Committee. The six years he spent in Greece, broken only by a short period as instructor at Yale, were all-important in shaping his future. Not only did he lay a firm foundation for a profound knowledge of Greek art in many phases, but he developed a feeling for its underlying spirit and a sensitiveness to nuances of expression which went far beyond the learning of the professional archaeologist. His earlier studies were mainly in Greek architecture and Greek building inscriptions. He published a number of articles in this field, and in 1905 undertook a record of the building inscriptions on the Erechtheum, which appear in the book on that building published in 1927 by Gorham P. Stevens and James M. Paton. In 1906, also, he compiled a still unpublished draft of a dictionary of architectural terms used in Greek inscriptions, which was submitted for a prize at the University of Strasbourg and was awarded half the prize. But at the same time he did much work on Greek sculpture and Greek vases, subjects which were to form the major interest of his mature years. Meanwhile, in the American and British Schools at Athens he became one of a circle of friends and colleagues whose interests and ideals matched his own, among them Sidney Deane, Guy Dickins, and Bert Hill; and in their society, and later in that of J. D. Beazley and of younger men working in the same field, he found invaluable understanding and encouragement.

In 1908 he was appointed Assistant Curator of Classical Antiquities in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and in 1912 became full Curator. In the Museum centered the main work of his life. His earlier years there were a period of great importance in the development of the Museum's classical collections. E. P. Warren and John Marshall in Europe, collaborating with Arthur Fairbanks in Boston, had brought together much notable material; and it was fortunate for the Museum and for students of classical art and archaeology, that to a man of Caskey's learning, perception, and taste, fell the business of studying and developing the collection. Thenceforward practically all Caskey's published work was concerned with or centered round objects in his department. As a writer he was not prolific. His incurable modesty always made him doubtful whether what he had to say was worth saying; while his critical faculty made him contemptuous (so far as he was capable of contempt) of magpies masquerading as scholars and of aesthetic outpourings. But when enthusiasm for an object, a sense of duty, and pressure from colleagues, combined to induce him to write, he wrote with great felicity. Words did not come easily, however. Not only had the ideas to be right, but they had to be expressed exactly; so that a short article might be the labor of weeks, until both thought and language had a clarity and precision which were themselves Greek.

The worth of his contribution to the study of classical art and archaeology can only be properly assessed by fellow scholars, but a very much wider circle were in his debt for all he did to help them understand classic art. Colleagues working in other fields found in what he wrote something that made the dry bones of scholarship live. He was interested in archaeology, but art was a serious matter. Those who sought his help in the Museum found him almost embarrassingly spendthrift of time and knowledge on their behalf. The idlest query, either in person or by letter, engaged his full attention; and to help, so far as he could, seekers after knowledge he held one of the most important duties of a curator.

But it was in the installation of his department that he perhaps made his greatest contribution to inspiration and general enlightenment. Spot lighting, startling comparisons, arresting placards, and similar devices to attract and focus attention he regarded with horror, since for him they obscured the essential qualities of any great art. With historical sequence as a basis, on the ground that

works of the same period together create an atmosphere favorable to understanding each one of them, he relied upon balance and harmony in arrangement and subtle use of color. Pale blue-gray walls helped to bring out the warmth of marble, so that even on a dull day a suggestion of sunshine was present; cases planned in shape and in character of bed and background set off the special quality of the objects they contained; and pedestals and other furniture, in shape, proportion, and color all fitted harmoniously into the design. But perhaps Caskey's most notable power was so to isolate and display the finest works in his charge that, without being over-dramatized, they became nodal points in the collection. The result looked so inevitable and so easy to attain, that the setting was forgotten and only the objects remained.

Caskey's main enthusiasms were, however, set against a larger background. His modesty and reticence concealed a wide range of interests, especially in literature and the arts. It masked also a rare integrity and firmness of purpose. Circumstances might put obstacles in the way of right doing, but that did not change what ought to be done. He lived in no ivory tower. The war, for example, distressed him deeply, to the extent of affecting his physical health; and with a knowledge and understanding of Germany far greater than most of us have, he never wavered in believing that no sacrifice was too great to resist totalitarian aggression. Yet those who knew him intimately, and rejoiced most in the sincerity and distinction of his mind, may remember him best by the expression of those characteristics in everyday life—his pleasure in casual conversation, his delight in a garden, his understanding of children, and his enjoyment of a well written detective story.

W. G. Constable

A brief obituary of Dr. Caskey will also be found in *BMFA*. xlii, 1944, pp. 37–38.

Hans Seger.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 84, reports the death of Dr. Hans Seger, honorary Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology at the University of Breslau, and former Director of the Municipal Art Collections, during the autumn of 1943, at the age of seventy-nine.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Winthrop Bequest.—One of the most important events for the study of art and archaeology in America in 1943 was the bequest to the Fogg Museum of Harvard University of the collections of Grenville L. Winthrop. A graduate of Harvard College in the Class of 1886, he had made important gifts to the Museum during his lifetime. *Bull. Fogg Mus.* x, pp. 25–71 (Nov. 1943) is entirely devoted to the description and illustration of the more important examples of the collection. Of the objects of the Art of the Far East, there are twelve pages of illustrations without text (cover illustration and pp. 29–39 incl.) and on pp. 69 and 70 are examples of Aztec and Peruvian art. The number begins (pp. 26–28) with an appreciation of the collections, and a tribute to Mr. Winthrop's memory, by EDWARD W. FORBES and PAUL J. SACHS. Besides the groups to be summarized separately elsewhere in this Department (the Egyptian and Iranian) other parts of the collection are described by JAKOB ROSENBERG (Early Flemish Paintings and Prints, pp. 47–52), AGNES MONGAN (Drawings and Water-Colors, pp. 53–57), and WILLIAM A. JACKSON (Books and Manuscripts, p. 71).

Lutzenguetle, Liechtenstein.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 67, reports that researches carried out by the Historical Society of the Principality of Liechtenstein have recently unearthed a Stone Age settlement kindred to those discovered near Cazis (Grisons) and Mels (St. Gall). It is the third place of the Alpine Neolithic culture to be discovered—a culture quite unknown until recently, and contrary to those of the Swiss lowland, showing strong influence of the Michelsberg culture, and of an unknown archetype. Among the new finds, staghorn mountings are totally missing, but a great number of flint utensils have been found. In addition, the Society has made finds of the Late Bronze and Iron Ages.

Lycksele, North Sweden.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 61, announces that finds made by peasants in this area seem to belong to a large Stone Age settlement, and are considered to be about four thousand years old. This part of the country, which is very difficult of access, has not yielded very much evidence of settlements of this age, up to this discovery.

Csomafa, Transylvania.—At a site where some years ago Roman finds were made, new investigations have been begun by MICHAEL PÁRDUCZ of the University of Szeged, who has located three Stone Age settlements. At the same time and location, ZOLTAN SZÉKELY has uncovered remains of walls belonging to a hall and outhouses of Roman origin (*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 73).

Spanish West Sahara.—In a cave near Rio de

Oro, Julio Martinez Santa Olalla, Director of Archaeological Excavations, has discovered much Stone Age pottery, as well as very large tumuli of the Berbers, containing granite chambers with sarcophagi and vessels for offerings (*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 87).

Lüneburg.—At Melbeck, near this place, a tomb dating from the end of the Stone Age was discovered in the course of building operations. The tomb equipment included a carved goblet with fine decorations, arrow-heads, a stone hatchet and a knife. The objects are typical for this part of the world (*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 61).

Litoměřicè (Leitmeritz).—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 71 reports that near this place a large Late Neolithic necropolis has been discovered. Three new tombs have recently been opened, containing characteristic pottery of the corded ceramic type, and ornaments of shell discs and of wolf's teeth.

Koloszvar (Cluj).—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 87, reports the progress of excavations conducted by the Archaeological Section of the Transylvanian Scientific Institute, under the direction of Julius László and Stefan Méri. In the main square of the city, evidence was obtained of the existence of Neolithic and Bronze Age settlements. These settlements prove that the region was settled much more densely in those times than in the following periods. Ruins of a Roman villa have also been uncovered. These finds enable us to trace the whole history of the colonization of the area. The first human settlements date in the later Stone Age; between the prehistoric and the Roman periods there are no traces of human habitation, nor between the Roman period and early Hungarian times.

Pecs.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 64, reports on excavations carried out at Nagyárpád, near this place, by Julius Török. A settlement of the Early Bronze Age has been discovered—remains of 32 dwelling houses had up to the time of writing been laid bare. Vessels with incised decoration of the so-called textile style and other utensils have been found relatively intact. Furthermore, other objects from the later Bronze Age, and the Hallstatt, La Tène and Roman periods and from the Hungarian Middle Ages indicate that at this site there was an important station on the road connecting the Balkans with the West. In *ibid.*, p. 75, it is announced that the mediaeval walls of Pecs, still well preserved on the north and west sides, have been restored, preserved, and the houses hiding them removed. See also *AJA.* xlviii, 1944, p. 93.

Oslo.—On a rocky wall on the Oslo fiord, under a thick covering of moss, 24 prehistoric drawings of ships have been discovered. The largest is 1.80 m. long, and represents a ship with a deck-house like a tent on her stern, while the line of the keel terminates in two beaks decorated with animal heads.

Chalbury Camp, Dorset.—In *AJ.* xxiii, 1943, pp. 98–121, Margaret Whitley presents a summary report of excavations conducted in 1939. The site is an Iron Age hill-fort, stratified above Late Bronze Age material. The Iron Age material may be divided into two phases. The earlier is marked by a post-pole hut of timber, by undeveloped haematite and situlate pots, and finger-print decorations. To the second phase belongs a round stone hut (diam. 33 ft.) without central roof support or focal hearth. Phase 1 may be dated perhaps during the first half of the fourth century B.C.; phase 2, before the middle of the first century, by which time the stone hut had ceased to be inhabited.

Early Iron Age in England.—The *London Times* for March 7, 1944, prints an article by Sir Cyril Fox, Director of the National Museum of Wales, regarding the discovery in 1943, at a point a few miles from Holyhead, Anglesey, of a collection of some 90 objects of bronze and iron, "which touches life and art in Celtic antiquity at more points than any deposit hitherto found in Wales." The objects are now in the National Museum of Wales at Cardiff. The collection includes weapons, parts of vehicles and of harness, gang-chains for captives, currency bars and other things of social and economic interest, and ceremonial and personal objects. They were found imbedded in peat, and were associated with animal bones (horse, ox, pig, sheep and dog). The chronological range is between 100 B.C. and 50 A.D., the most brilliant period of Celtic prehistoric civilization in Britain. Some of the objects are of Irish origin, showing the continuance of export of metal-work into the Iron Age; the majority, however, are of Lowland British work of Iron Age B and C. The collection is that of a family of chieftains, living at a point accessible to travellers or traders from all parts by land or sea. Some of the objects show evidence of having been repaired in antiquity, but such work is of the roughest type. Of the parts of harness, the bits are the most remarkable; they are all snaffles, suitable for ponies. Some are of bronze-

coated iron, others of bronze. One of the latter is illustrated, and reveals a design new to Celtic art history in Britain. It was made for use in a two-horse chariot. Other objects are described. The "currency bars" present a problem, as they appear over 100 miles from the grouped pattern of earlier finds; and the gang-chains, still strong enough in 1943 to be used by a tractor to pull motor trucks out of the mud, are of a type previously found only in Kent or Cambridgeshire, and dated in these places shortly before the Claudian conquest. The finds can be explained as belonging to a wealthy family or community, which dwelt on the margin of a little Anglesey lake for a century and a half, being especially prosperous between ca. 75 B.C. and 25 A.D. The lake silted up with peat until it is now a bog. The cause of the discarding of these objects may well have been the battle at Mona, described by Tacitus, of Suetonius Paulinus and his legions against the Druids and their following. The discovery and its accompanying article is considered by the *Times* of sufficient significance to warrant an editorial in the same issue, in which the inferences drawn are ably summarized.

Kristianstad, South Sweden. — *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 53, reports that at this place numerous tombs have been found in a hill, that in prehistoric times was surrounded by water. They are surrounded by a ring of boulders, in the middle of which a monolith had been set up. One of the tombs contained a bronze needle, three beautiful arrow-heads, several utensils and an ornamented clay urn.

Hjoerring, North Jutland. — *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 73, reports that during ploughing a tomb was discovered, containing ten stone urns with incised decoration, and associated with them a bronze fibula and one of silver. Further investigation has revealed a smelting furnace — only one other has been found in Denmark.

New Spanish Institute. — In *College Art Journal* iii, pp. 24–26, WALTER W. S. COOK announces that the *Instituto Amattler de Arte Hispánica* has been founded in Barcelona, by JOSÉ GUDIOL, as a center for research and publication in Spanish art. It already has a collection of 140,000 negatives of works of art, including many objects destroyed in the Spanish Civil War, and more are constantly being added. It is hoped to make this Institute a center for research by Spanish scholars, and publications are being planned. It is also hoped that after the war American students may be given opportunity, through fellowships, to go to Spain to work on their dissertations in these surroundings, which will be open to the public of every nation.

Rome. — Announcement is made in *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 64, that the Palazzo Venezia, the collections of which have not been generally accessible, is to be arranged as a State Museum after the war.

Salzburg. — *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 55, announces the arrangement by the Municipal Museum of an exhibition, in the arcades of the cloister of St. Peter's, giving a survey of the artistic production of the Salzkammergut from prehistoric times up to the Renaissance and Baroque periods.

Maribor. — In the citadel the German authorities have arranged a Museum of Lower Styria (Untersteirische Museum) with sections of archaeology and folklore. They have changed the name of the city to Marburg. (*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 54).

Trent. — According to *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 69, the Archaeological Museum in this city has been destroyed by bombs.

EGYPT

Saqqara. — *I L N.* Feb. 26, 1944, pp. 247–249 (9 figs.), gives a report by GUY BRUNTON on the work of the last three years at Saqqara, under the Egyptian Department of Antiquities. It consists of an examination of the pyramid complex of King Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty (ca. 2655–2625 B.C.). There was a temple adjoining the east face of the pyramid, from which a causeway ran to a lower or "valley" temple, at the edge of the desert. The principal work was to complete the excavation of this causeway, and to uncover this lower temple. It was found that the foundations of the causeway were, in some places, reused blocks from the step-pyramid of King Zoser, of the Third Dynasty. A number of rock-cut tombs of the Fifth Dynasty were also discovered in the course of the work, one of which, of a certain Akhet-hotep, contained 10 wooden statues of different sizes, mostly in excellent preservation, and a wooden stele, showing the deceased seated before a table of offerings. Another tomb, of Ptah-iruk, had a series of rock-cut statues in niches, with the coloring well preserved. A third tomb, of Ptah-nefer-her, was interesting, in that its beautifully painted decorations were never finished, and showed clearly the way in which the artist

worked. Part of the causeway is to be reconstructed, so that all the surviving blocks of sculpture can be exhibited in their natural setting, and still be protected from weather. The "valley" temple is still being excavated. The lowest construction appears to have been a quay, which the Nile reached during the inundations, behind which is a retaining wall with a terrace, on which the temple was built. On the pavement (to a great extent intact) was found a sarcophagus of green schist, the lid so constructed that it could not be removed by robbers. Water had, however, seeped into the tomb, so that the mummy and its wooden coffin were in a state of decomposition, but the bones were still fairly intact. On the right upper arm was a plain gold band, while on the wrist was a gold wire (which by rights should have been round the neck) on which was a carnelian bead. The most surprising discovery was a belt of heavy gold plate, 4.5 cm. wide, covered with a design of lozenges, worked in tiny beads of different colors, threaded on gold wire. At the back is a gold plate with a slot, in which some appendage had once been attached. The front ends have semicircular terminals, from which run long wires of twisted gold for tying the ends together. At the front lay a rectangular plaque of heavy gold, inlaid with colored stones, giving the owner's name, Ptahshepses, and his titles of "Pasha" and "King's Son." The sarcophagus is of a new type, and the belt is unique among the objects of jewelry in the Cairo Museum.

Egyptian Art in Winthrop Bequest.—Dows Dunham contributes to *Bull. Fogg Mus.* x, pp. 40–43 (5 figs.) a brief appreciation of the Egyptian antiquities received by the Fogg Museum from this source. Most important is an Early Ptolemaic fragmentary quartz statuette of an unidentified king, a striking example of its period, and of particular interest because it was never finished, and shows clearly the technique used by the sculptor. Two wooden Anubis figures are of great merit, and are dated at some period subsequent to the Empire. Of the other examples, a head of Akhenaton is of interest, and also a portrait head of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Of the bronzes, two are selected for publication—a fine Horus hawk, dating somewhere between the Seventeenth and Twenty-fourth Dynasties, and a male figure, with a lion's head and uraeus, also presumably Horus, dating probably in the Saite period. Both are in exceptional preservation.

Ḥar-Mosĕ.—In *BMMA.* n.s. ii, 1944, pp. 159–163 (6 figs.) Nora E. Scott publishes the lute owned by this musician, found by the Metropolitan's Egyptian Expedition, and now in the Cairo Museum. Ḥar-Mosĕ was probably attached to the household of Sen-mūt, the architect of Queen Ḥat-shepsūt, and the instrument therefore dates about 1490 B.C. It is the earliest evidence of this instrument to be found in Egypt, and the only actual example known—our other evidence for it is in wall-paintings. A careful description of the instrument, which is in excellent preservation, is given. The writer speaks of the fondness of the Egyptians for music, although they had no system of musical notation, so that the melodies were handed down from generation to generation, just as they are today. She also lists the other instruments used. Of these the earliest and most popular were the harp, the flute, and the clarinet. Drums were mostly used in military bands, but the tambourine was common. About the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, a number of new instruments appear, and it is to this period that the lute belongs. Other popular instruments to be introduced were the lyre and the oboe, while the trumpet first appears at that time in military music.

Tomb of Tutankhamen.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 80, announces the publication, by the firm of Vroment in Brussels, of a richly illustrated volume commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the discovery of this famous tomb, in which the most important Belgian archaeologists have collaborated.

Alexandria.—In *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 71, announcement is made that during excavations carried out by the Greco-Roman Museum a foundation of marble stairs has been discovered, dating from the Roman period, and leading to the summit of the south slope of the Serapeum, to the point where the so-called "Pompey's Pillar" stands. These may be the stairs mentioned several times in literature of the fourth century A.D. During the continuation of the excavations another flight of stairs, at right angles to the first, and apparently dating from the time of the Ptolemies, was unearthed. Of this flight, 40 steps had been uncovered up to September, 1943. This staircase may have been vaulted over. (This would appear to be somewhat of an amplification of the account summarized in *AJA.* xlviii, 1944, p. 86.—*Ed.*)

PALESTINE

The Jordan Valley.—In *Bibl. Archaeologist* vi, 1943, pp. 62–67, Nelson Glueck summarizes

the results of his exploration of the Jordan Valley during the winter and spring of 1942–43. While the statement in *Gen.* 13:10 that in the time of Lot the valley was a veritable paradise applies primarily to the southern part of the valley, Glueck found that the remark could have been applied equally well to the east side of the northern half of the valley, where there are no less than twelve perennial streams, and to part of the western side. Living conditions are by no means intolerable and numerous ruins point to an extensive occupation from as far back as 3500 B.C. It is now possible to identify all of the Biblical sites located on the east side of the Jordan Valley: Jabesh-gilead = Tell Abu Kharaz and Tell el-Meqbereh; Zaphon = Tell el-Qos; Zarethan = Tell es-Sa'idiyeh; Succoth = Tell Deir 'Alla; Adamah (Adam) = Tell ed-Damieh; Beth-nimrah = Tell Bleibil; Abel-shittim = Tell el-Hammam; Beth-haram (or Beth-haran) = Tell Iktanu; Beth-jeshimoth = Tell el-'Azeimeh. All these Biblical sites were built on easily fortified and usually isolated hills, but during the more secure Hellenistic period frequently shifted to more convenient locations in the center of broad plains, taking their names with them, a shift which has frequently led to the erroneous identification of the site of the Biblical towns.

Israel's Uniqueness.—The unique character of the Israelite religion is a phenomenon which has long challenged the historian for an explanation. A fresh discussion of the problem in the light of recent archaeological and literary investigation is presented by G. ERNEST WRIGHT in *Bibl. Archaeologist* vi, 1943, pp. 1–20. While admitting Israel's debt to Canaan in the fields of architecture, literary forms, mythology and sacrificial ritual, and the fact that popular Yahwism differed little from Baalism, Wright emphasizes the point that official Yahwism had a unique character from the very beginning. An examination of the earliest Hebrew literary remains shows that from the very beginning Yahweh tolerated no rivals, had no mythology attached to his person, had no specialized function but was the controller and disposer of all things, frowned on images of himself, etc. Whether this primitive Yahwism can be called monotheistic or merely henotheistic is still debatable. But the unique character of Israelite religion antedates the prophets.

Synagogues.—While the origin of the synagogue as an institution still remains obscure, our knowledge of the structure and decoration of the synagogues of Palestine and Syria from the second century A.D. on has been greatly increased in recent years through the progress of archaeological research. A convenient summary of this new information is presented by H. G. MAY in *Bibl. Archaeologist* vii, 1944, pp. 1–20. The most surprising feature is the common employment of human, animal and bird forms in decoration in violation of the Second Commandment. In the earlier synagogues the façade faced Jerusalem; in the later ones the apse containing the Ark for the Law faced Jerusalem. The balconies reserved for women may be based on a separation of men and women in the services of the Temple.

Numismatics.—A hoard of 341 bronze coins of the fourth century A.D. found in a cave near the village of Yamun in the Jenin District is published by J. BARAMKI in *QDAP.* xi, 1944, pp. 30–32. Most of the coins are very badly worn, but it has been possible to identify a number representing Constans I, Constantius II, Constantius Gallus, and Julian, and also two specimens with Urbs Roma and one with Constantinopolis.

The same article deals with 181 Venetian and Ottoman silver coins, found near the village of Jelame near Jenin. They range in date from the accession of Suleiman the Magnificent in A.D. 1520 to the death of his grandson Murad in 1595. The Venetian coins, however, have a much shorter range, falling within the period lying between the dogeship of Andrea Gritti (1523 ff.) and that of Gerolamo Priuli (1567).

The discovery of several of the so-called thick Jewish silver shekels in association with Tyrian shekels from 11/12 to 60/61 A.D. strongly supports the theory that these particular Jewish shekels should be dated to the revolt of 66–70 A.D. (MILLAR BURROWS in *Bibl. Archaeologist* vi, 1943, pp. 37–39).

Gaza.—A decree of the Mamluk Sultan and Caliph al-Musta 'īn Billāh, which is engraved over one of the gates of the Great Mosque at Gaza, is published in full for the first time by L. A. MAYER in *QDAP.* xi, 1944, pp. 27–29, pl. x. The decree, dated on the eighteenth of Rabī' I, 815 A.H. (= June 28, 1412 A.D.), deals with the abolition of some "illegal" taxes imposed on the inhabitants of Gaza by Sultan Faraj, the predecessor of al-Musta 'īn Billāh.

New Neolithic Site in Transjordan.—At Sab'a Biyar, northwest of Kilwa, an extensive cemetery has been discovered, the graves being of a type not hitherto found in Transjordan. Two main types of construction were observed: (a) large

stone slabs set upright all around; (b) the main body of the grave of coursed blocks with large slabs set upright in the entrance. All the graves were orientated due East. Two curious features are associated with some of the graves, viz. the presence of natural limestone nodules, not observed elsewhere in the vicinity, and a group of three stones beside the entrance. Flint implements found on the site are dated provisionally as Neolithic (Kilwian) and point to the probable date of the cemetery (A. S. KIRKBRIDE and LANKESTER HARDING in *QDAP.* xi, 1944, pp. 37–43, plates XI and XII.

Imperial Art in Transjordan.—Evidence of the movement towards Romanization, which took place in Transjordan following the annexation of that province by Trajan in A.D. 106, is furnished by the discovery of a large cache of pottery figurines and lamps in a cave at Jerash. The absence of anything Semitic or Orientalizing is striking and witnesses to a widespread demand for Classical types. The most interesting of the numerous lamps found are the grayish-black "metallic" ones, with one or more nozzles, clearly copied from bronze originals of the first century A.D. The presence of lamp moulds and spoiled pieces indicates that the lamps were made either in the cave itself or near by. Jerash must now be added to the list of lamp manufacturing centers. The figurines are largely copies or adaptations of famous Hellenistic works of the fourth century B.C. or later, but the treatment of the busts shows the influence of the Trajanic period. A considerable variety of Aphrodites is represented (J. H. ILIFFE in *QDAP.* xi, 1944, pp. 1–26, pls. I–IX).

IRAN

Reliefs from Persepolis.—The Winthrop collection, as received by the Fogg Museum, included five reliefs from the palace of Darius (521–485 B.C.) at Persepolis. These are described, and three of them published, by ERIC SCHROEDER in *Bull. Fogg Mus.* x, pp. 44–45 (3 figs.). Two represent provincials in Median dress bringing offerings, and probably came from the stairway of Artaxerxes (359–338 B.C.); two portray heads of the so-called "Immortals," or archers of the Royal Guard, and may well date from the time of Darius himself, while the fifth is a relief of Ahura Mazda, supreme god of the Persians. The writer believes that this may well have been part of the decoration of the Hall of a Hundred Columns in the north part of the Persepolis platform, and if so, it is suggested that it is the missing part of the huge jamb of the south doorway. This building is attributed both to Darius and to Xerxes (485–465 B.C.) and as this relief is unfinished, it may be of the time of the latter. There is a brief discussion of the tools used by the sculptors, and of the amount of time required to execute some of the details on the reliefs.

Nishapur.—*ILN.*, April 1, 1944, pp. 388–389, prints two pages of illustrations of the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at Nishapur in 1938–1940. Many of these illustrations do not appear to have been published before.

***Shah-Nama* of 1482.**—HANNAH E. MCALLISTER publishes, in *BMMA.* n.s. ii, 1943, pp. 126–132 (5 figs.), two miniatures purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in 1940, known to come from a manuscript of the great Iranian national epic, the *Shah-Nama* (completed by Firdausi in 1010 A.D.) the date of which is established by a colophon as corresponding to October, 1482. The manuscript and the miniatures are described; one shows the dying Rustam killing his brother Shaghad, while the second depicts a scene not often illustrated—the vengeance of Alexander the Great on the traitorous slayers of his foe, Darius. At the time this manuscript was completed, Persia was divided between the Turkomans, who held the western part, and the descendants of Timur, who held Khurasan and the Caspian Sea provinces. The great figure, Shah Rukh, son of Timur, ruled until 1447, and established the splendor of the court life that persisted into the second half of the century. The peak was reached under Sultan Husain Mirza (1468–1506), whose court at Herat was "a magnet for great artists from all over the country," while in western Persia, at Tabriz, the Turkoman Usun Hasan (1466–1478) also established a center of literary and artistic activity. These miniatures are considered to belong in the western tradition (School of Tabriz). Other examples, in the British Museum, the Metropolitan, and the Bibliothèque Nationale are illustrated, and others in various museums and collections are listed, for purposes of comparison.

AEGEAN

Scripts of Pre-Hellenic Greece.—In *Class. Outlook* xxi, pp. 72–74, ALICE E. KOBER gives a compact and concise account of what is known of writing in Crete and the mainland of Greece, from the results of archaeological discoveries. Although as yet these inscriptions cannot be de-

ciphered, the possible clues to reach a solution are given, and a list of words is added, which appear to be derived, through Greek, from the pre-Hellenic language of Crete. The final statement is made that when the ancient Greeks said that "all Cretans are liars," citing as an example, among other things, their claim to the invention of the alphabet, they themselves were in error, and the Cretans were telling the truth.

GREECE

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Cult of Athena Pallenis.—Robert Schlaifer discusses this ancient Attic cult in *HarvSt.* liv, 1943, pp. 35–67, and the laws relating to it. Our only direct source is a passage in Athenaeus (vi, 234d–235d) which it is necessary to emend in several places. It is proved that the cult is of great antiquity, going back to the seventh century B.C.; that it was administered by officials called archons, not to be confused with the rulers of the state; that these archons appointed from the adjacent demes, which were apparently a form of league, officials called parasites, whose function it was to select the victims and the barley to be offered in the festival of the goddess, and who had the right of dining from the flesh of the victims and this barley, in conjunction with the old men of the league, and women still living with their first husbands. The cult was agrarian; there is reason to believe that the goddess owned a herd of cattle, and tracts of arable land, which was put out to rent, and from which the lessees had to provide the barley for the festival. The goddess also owned treasure, deposited on the Acropolis, from which money was loaned to the State. Repairs to the temple and to the other sacred buildings were paid for from public funds, administered by the ἱερῶν ἐπισκευασταί, under the direction of the King Archon, who also appointed the archons of the cult. The priest of the cult could be, and often was, a woman. In examining the laws as given in Athenaeus, much aid was obtained from inscriptional evidence. The article ends with an explanation of one of the corrupt readings, and the reason for a very radical emendation, which is followed by a good bibliography.

Cyrene.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 70, quotes Mr. Henderson, Secretary of Finance in the British War Office, as having advised the House of Commons that the sites of Cyrene, Apollonia, and Ptolemais have not been severely damaged as a result of the North African campaign. The officials and custodians of the Cyrene Museum have been retained in office. The Chief Director of the Greek and Roman Museum at Alexandria has visited Cyrene, and will present a detailed report.

Accessions by the Louvre.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 76, quoting from the *Revue des Beaux Arts de France* iv, announces that from the Henri de Nanteuil collection the Louvre has obtained, partly by bequest and partly on favorable conditions of purchase, a number of valuable small bronzes, principally archaic, and also a group of objects of pre-Classical, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek art, and also a few Etruscan objects.

Marathon Race.—In *CW.* xxxvii, pp. 166–167, Walter Woodburn Hyde shows that this race, the great event of the modern Olympic games, was not only not a part of any Greek athletic contest, but that the actual run of Pheidippides from Marathon to Athens is unknown to either Herodotos or the elder Pliny, although both speak of his run to Sparta before the battle, to invoke aid in resisting the Persians. The only reference to the Marathon run is in Lucian. Modern Marathon records are discussed, and the ancient running races enumerated.

Beating Motifs in Greek Dance.—In *Class. Outlook* xxi, pp. 59–61, Lillian B. Lawler discusses those episodes in Greek dancing where one performer beats another with a stick, the ξύλου παράληψις. Very little is known or even conjectured about what this motif consisted of. The writer examines the literary and archaeological evidence and finds opportunities for such action, among extant Greek plays, in the *Suppliants* and *Eumenides* of Aeschylus, the *Oedipus Coloneus* and *Ajax* of Sophocles, and the *Herakleidae*, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*, and *Rhesus* of Euripides; but the motif was apparently more frequent in the satyr plays, as in the *Cyclops* of Euripides, and the *Ichneutae* of Sophocles there are frequent hints of the beating motif. The contemporary vase-paintings bear this out, as they often represent Satyrs and Maenads swinging their thyrsi against each other. As would be expected, this motif is common in Old Comedy, nearly all of the extant plays of Aristophanes having references to beatings. There is also evidence that, through the development of comedy, this motif persisted as late as the time of Justinian. Beating and fighting dances were by no means uncommon in the classical period under other names, and peoples in all parts of the world have

used ceremonial beatings to induce fertility or to ward off evil. Instances of this form of beating are given in Pausanias, and are of early origin, as is proved by an early black-figured vase in the British Museum (B 80) showing two men ritually and rhythmically beating each other with clubs. The ceremonial beating in the ritual of Artemis Orthia at Sparta is discussed, as well as an earlier rite in the same cult—the ceremonial punishment of thefts of food from sacred spots. This was regarded in later times as a dance motif, and it appears on early vases—one in the Louvre and one in the British Museum are cited. This theft motif, too, is often found in the Old Comedy. The conclusion is reached that the origin of the beating motifs was from two primitive concepts—apotropaic and ritual theft.

Plea for Pausanias.—David M. Robinson contributes a note to *CW*. xxxvii, pp. 165–166, in which he takes issue with the statements of John Day and others, who claim that Herodes Atticus "exhausted" the quarries on Mt. Pentelikon. He asserts that a correct reading of the passage of Pausanias involved (i, 19, 6) shows that Herodes had certain quarries and that these quarries were largely exhausted, but the fact that marble is still quarried on the mountain shows that all the sources were not exhausted.

Ancient Gremlin.—Henry C. Montgomery contributes a note to *Class. Outlook* (xxi, p. 68) to show that the mythical occupant of the mound at Olympia called Taraxippos, was often conceived in art as a dwarf-like, surly demon, mounted behind a horseman or charioteer. He is not confined to Olympia, but is also found at Corinth and Nemea. "Obviously he was something very like the Gremlin of today, who annoys the modern flying chariot and its driver."

ARCHITECTURE

The Propylaea.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 64, announces that Professor Orlandos, Director of the Reconstruction Office of the present Ministry of Public Education at Athens, will undertake the restoration of the Propylaea.

SCULPTURE

The Greek Kouros.—George W. Elderkin contributes a note on this subject to *Art in America* xxxi, 1943, pp. 153–154, taking Miss Richter's recent book as his point of departure. He disputes the dependence of early Greek art on that of Egypt, pointing out that of all the statues and statuettes listed by Miss Richter, only four come from the mainland of Asia Minor. "The fact is that the *kouros* was at home in Greece, and not along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean." The *kouroi* listed as from Naucratis he believes were importations from Samos or Aegina, as both places had temples at Naucratis—and these may have been of Argive inspiration indirectly. The Ionians, who can be shown to have had the Oriental aversion to the nude in art, could not be the intermediaries in transmitting the *kouros* from Egypt to Greece. The Metropolitan *kouros* is the only example in sculpture with a neckband in relief, and is further unique in having it tied in front—examples in vase-paintings always have the neckband tied in the back. Other interesting features, not mentioned in Miss Richter's book are also described, including a *kouros* at Delphi wearing an Etruscan *bulla*, perhaps from the Treasury of Caere.

Greek Sculpture in Cleveland.—In *Art in America* xxxi, 1943, pp. 113–126 (19 figs.) Margarete Bieber calls attention to the excellent specimens of Greek sculpture in the Cleveland Museum of Art. A head of a sphinx is an outstanding example of the archaic art of the mid-sixth century B.C. It was found at Soluntum on the north coast of Sicily, and shows Ionic influence. At about the turn of this century (ca. 500 B.C.) belongs a life-size head of a goat, of poros limestone, said to have been found on a slope of the Acropolis at Athens ("the only large piece of Attic poros limestone sculpture in this country"). A bronze figure of a bull, dated about 480 B.C., is undoubtedly of Magna Graecia workmanship, perhaps from Thurii. Next is published a female head of Parian marble, formerly in the Stroganoff collection, a Roman copy of an original of ca. 460 B.C., of the Argive school. Published as a piece of sculpture is a bronze statuette of a youth, originally a mirror-stand, which the writer believes to have been identified with the Greek colony of Locris in Southern Italy. It dates in 480–460 B.C. A life-size statue of an athlete, a Roman copy in Carrara marble of a bronze original, can be attributed to "the master of the Omphalos Apollo" and is placed about 450 B.C. Of the second half of the fifth century, Cleveland possesses no examples, but Dr. Bieber publishes a beautiful female head in Buffalo, which she attributes to Alkamenes, to fill in this gap. In good fourth-century work Cleveland is very rich. First, two Attic grave monuments are pub-

lished, one (fragmentary) of a woman, of the Hegeso type, the other a marble lekythos. In contrast to the repose of these Attic monuments, one from Tarentum is shown, with reliefs of figures in violent pose. Of the school of Praxiteles there is a much damaged torso of the "Hermes of Andros" type. A head of Aphrodite of the Capitoline type is a Hadrianic copy of an early Hellenistic original. One of the finest pieces in the collection is a portrait head of Alexander the Great, found in Alexandria, dating in the third century B.C. Of this Alexandrian school there are also two delightful heads of girls. From Tarentum comes probably a terracotta figurine of a woman, with a head similar to these, and the hair similarly dressed, dating probably in the second century. A head of a Persian, said to come from Alexandria, bears some resemblance to some of the Pergamene reliefs, but Dr. Bieber considers it Alexandrian of the second century, citing a head in the Cairo Museum as a parallel. Finally, a bronze mirror-case with a youth and maiden in high relief, dating in the second century and recalling Pergamene art, and a bronze statuette of Apollo, a century later, and typifying the eclectic art of the early Roman age, are published.

Two Statuettes.—In *Art in America* xxxii, 1944, pp. 19–25 (5 figs.) VALENTINE MULLER publishes two bronze statuettes in the Walker Gallery at Bowdoin College. One represents a male figure reclining on a couch, and is dated in the early sixth century (580–570) B.C. The custom of reclining at meals appears to have been introduced into Greek lands from the Orient, and the statuette is believed to have been made in Eastern Greece, perhaps in Miletus or Ephesus. The second statuette is of a standing youth, holding an object on his left shoulder with both hands. The garment which he wears is without analogies in Greece, and is of Egyptian type. The youth is therefore identified as a priest of Isis, and the object he carried was the pole of a litter, the corresponding pole to be held by another figure, to support a cult image. A date early in the Hellenistic period, the last third of the third century B.C., is suggested.

Female Torso in Louvre.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 75, quoting from the *Revue des Beaux Arts de France* iv, reports on a female torso acquired by the Louvre in 1939. It is obviously of the type of the Esquiline Venus in the Conservatori Palace in Rome, and while not as well preserved, is far superior to it in excellence of workmanship. It confirms the generally accepted opinion that both it and the Esquiline sculpture are copies of a Greek original of about 460 B.C. The suggestion is made that the original was not a Venus, but probably an Atalanta, or some other female athlete.

Foot of Sarapis.—The discovery of a foot of Sarapis in Athens, the first and only example known there, and the largest to be found anywhere, has led STERLING DOW and FRIEDA S. UPSON to collect in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, pp. 58–77, the evidence on this curious type of monument, the grotesque, snake-entwined, bust-crowned foot of Sarapis. Only five examples are recorded. Such feet must have been fairly common, as coins testify, but examples in marble large enough to bear as well some sculptured representation of the god were never numerous. All are right feet, all are large, either slightly larger than nature, or twice as large as nature. Four feet are sandalled, one is not. Three feet are surmounted by busts of Sarapis, one by a copy of Bryaxis' whole figure. The Bryaxis type was followed in the heads generally. Harpocrates appears in relief on the sandal, with his finger to his lips, and a cornucopia on the left arm. Apart from the one foot without a sandal, all have one or two serpents of the cobra species. The finest example, no. 1 in the discussion, now in Alexandria, is almost certainly Antonine, and the others may well be of that period.

Ancient Metal Reliefs.—DOROTHY KENT HILL corrects in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, pp. 87–89, a mistake made in her earlier article on ancient metal reliefs (*Hesperia* xii, 1943, p. 97), where she attributed to Miss Richter and Miss Milne the discovery "that the repoussé technique was invented by Pheidias and Polykleitos in the fifth century B.C.," a view which in reality was her own. Actually the technique of the matrix and hammering, found on the silver bowl in the Metropolitan Museum, was so influenced by the all important new technique of the age of Pheidias and Polykleitos, namely repoussé (as Pliny suggests), that the names of the great artists must be linked with it. The improvement must have been made in the new medium of repoussé and then applied to the older technique of the matrix to give more plastic form and differentiated planes.

Bronze Statuettes from Egypt.—Under this title, DOROTHY KENT HILL, in *Art in America* xxxi, 1943, pp. 182–194 (6 figs.), publishes a group of bronze statuettes in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. These statuettes she considers were the

product of "methods of mass production" and were made in moulds. The evidence for this is discussed at some length. First to be considered is a group of a pair of twin gods, presumably Castor and Pollux, said to have been found at Abu Homma, Lower Egypt, and called by the writer "the ugliest object in the Walters Art Gallery." The heads are so made that the wax models could be pulled out of the mould without destroying it, and the suggestion is made that the different parts were made in partial moulds, just as if they were terracotta, and then cast by the *cire-perdue* process. A group of two women, purchased in Cairo in 1929, also seems to have been made in the same way. A group of pancratiasts, also from Egypt, is of a type often found; the evidence of the heads shows that moulds were used. A statuette of Zeus, also bought in Cairo, has an elderly head attached to a youthful body, and hands out of proportion to the size of the figure, suggesting that the craftsman, in carrying out his commission, picked three moulds, none of which corresponded to the others. The un-Greek character of these statuettes is also stressed—although they are unquestionably genuine, they are not the sort of thing a Museum would normally purchase. An Aphrodite, also bought in Cairo, illustrates this un-Greek type of workmanship. Although the pose is Classical, the fleshy, realistic body is not. Finally, a small bronze athlete, of uncertain provenance, the authenticity of which has been suspected, is now believed by the writer to belong to this Egyptian school.

VASES

Groups of Early Black-Figure.—In an article dedicated to the memory of Michael Vlasto, J. D. Beazley classifies groups of early Attic black-figure vases in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, pp. 38–57. The period may be thought of as beginning with the establishment of the full black-figure technique in Attica, and ending with the creation, early in the second quarter of the sixth century, of a new and subtle style by Ergotimos and Kleitias and their companions. In the earlier part of the period Attic vases were not much exported, and the material has been largely increased by recent excavations in the Agora, in the Ceramicus, and at Vari. In Beazley's opinion the Nessos Painter is the earliest Attic black-figure artist whose personality is clear. Beginning with the Nessos Painter Beazley assigns vases of this period to the following artists: the Painter of the Aegina Chimaeras, the Gorgon Painter, the Painter of A. M. 62, the Ceramicus Painter, the Anagyrus Painter, the Painter of Berlin 1659, the Painter of Eleusis 767, the Painter of the Dresden Lekane, the Komast Group, Sophilos, the Polos Painter, the Swan Group. Vases in each group and those related to each group are carefully described.

INSCRIPTIONS

Athenian Decree Concerning Tribute.—B. H. Hill and B. D. Meritt analyze in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, pp. 1–15, an early Athenian decree, which may be restored from a fragment of a fifth century Attic inscription found by Gorham P. Stevens in 1938 in the south jamb of the east doorway of the Parthenon and three other pieces of the same inscription recently published as D 7 by Meritt, Wade-Gery, and McGregor in the first volume of *The Athenian Tribute Lists*. The stone measures 0.82 m. high, 0.20 m. wide, and 0.148 m. thick. The decree makes provision for getting tribute to Athens normally before the Dionysiac festival. Immediately after the festival a report is to be made to the Athenians by the Hellenotamiai and four men are to be sent out to the cities of the empire to give receipts for tribute paid, and to try to collect what is still due. At the beginning of the new year there will still be prosecutions for arrears, and during the new year current tribute and back payments are to be expected. These conditions seem best met in the tribute lists by the records of 448/7, when there was a general desire on the part of the allies to forego their payments after the Peace of Kallias in 449.

New Attic Mortgage Inscription.—D. M. Robinson publishes a new Attic mortgage inscription in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, pp. 16–21. It was acquired by Robinson from a dealer years ago, and supposedly was found in Marousi, northeast of Athens, probably near where *IG.* ii², 2670, was unearthed. It is of the small marker or horos type, an irregular fragment of blue Hymettian marble, blackened as though it had come through a fire. The most important contribution of the inscription is the mention of two important Athmoneans concerned in the mortgage. They are Philoktemon, father of the more famous Athmonean who was ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν νεωρίων in 334/3 B.C., and Theokles, a banker, perhaps mentioned in Demosthenes' oration for Apollodoros against Nikostratos. The inscription must date on epigraphical grounds between 350–325 B.C.

Ἐπένικτος.—Paul Maas discusses the text of a tablet of the fourth century B.C., coming from

Phalasarna in western Crete (no. 9355, National Museum, Athens) in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, pp. 36–37. In this charm tablet different kinds of nonsense appear, the Ἐφέσια γράμματα, other barbaric groups of letters, Greek words and phrases in no intelligible context, Greek words more or less corrupt. The word ἐπένικτος occurring in the inscription characterizes a remedy administered to the skin by being applied, as opposed to being rubbed in.

Proxeny Decree from Ios.—Robert Schlaifer publishes with photograph in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, p. 22, a fragment of a proxeny decree in Ios, purchased by C. H. Morgan in Ios in 1936. It is now in the library of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens, and may be dated in the third–second century B.C.

Inscriptions from Beroea.—J. M. R. Cormack discusses in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, pp. 23–29, a group of ancient marbles which came to light in the autumn of 1936 in the course of excavations made during tree-planting. The remains consist of marble grave monuments, architectural blocks, pieces of tufa columns, still bearing traces of Roman plaster. The workmen had uncovered part of the circuit wall of Beroea, built in all probability in the third century after Christ, a date supported by the lettering of the inscriptions. Nine inscribed grave monuments are published, the most interesting of which contains an elegiac epigram that throws light on the theatrical profession in Imperial times, since it is the first epigraphic evidence for the presentation of mimes in Macedonia.

Obscure Inscription on Gold Tablet.—Campbell Bonner in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, pp. 30–35, describes an obscure inscription engraved on a thin plate of gold, found in 1852 in the mouth of a skull, which was enclosed in a terracotta urn at the Vigna Codini near the tomb of the Scipios. The inscription perhaps can best be explained as belonging to an amulet against a danger well known to most Mediterranean peoples, namely the sting of scorpions or bite of snakes. This danger was especially familiar in Egypt, the home of the Sarapis cult, mentioned in the inscription. As the amulet was valuable in life, so it was buried with the dead.

ROME

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Poggio Buco.—*HarvSt.* liv, 1943, pp. 117–119, prints an abstract of a doctoral dissertation by Giacinto Matteucig on this site, which was the necropolis of Statonia, and is situated twenty-five miles northeast of Vulci. The first systematic excavations were by Mancinelli in 1896–97; of the material found, part is in the Archaeological Museum in Florence, part in Berlin, the contents of one tomb in the University Museum in Philadelphia, while the bulk, namely the contents of seven tombs, is at the University of California. It is this last material that is the subject of the dissertation. The vases, numbering 300, form a very representative series, ranging from Impasto to Italo-Corinthian. From this pottery the cultural history of the site may be determined. The archaic period (700–550 B.C.) may be divided into three phases—(1) Early, with trench tombs and Impasto and Italo-Geometric wares; (2) Early Orientalizing, with the tombs still trench, but with Proto-Corinthian and Geometric importations and imitations; (3) Ripe Orientalizing, with more elaborate tombs, and Bucchero and Corinthian vases and Italic imitations. These finds prove the close connection and dependence of Statonia on Vulci. Its geographical position made it an important station for the defense of Vulci. The town was fortified with a citadel and a wall with an estimated perimeter of 3 km. Fine terracotta revetments from its temple suggest its importance in the district. With the beginning of late Proto-Corinthian ware, commercial relations with Greece become increasingly important. Peculiar to Statonia is a very fine impasto technique with geometric decorations, which were probably exported through Etruria, at least as far as Chiusi. After the second half of the sixth century, the place, for some reason as yet unknown, suffered a severe decline, and almost entirely faded out of the picture.

Rome.—Announcement is made by *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 57, that the Vatican Museums are still accessible, except during the month of August, when they are always closed. No precautionary measures have been taken against air raids—on the contrary, precious books and objects of art from Rome, and especially from Roman churches, have been deposited in the extra-territorial buildings of Vatican City. In *ibid.*, p. 89, a report is quoted from German sources that an agreement has been reached between the German occupation authorities and the Vatican that all works of art, manuscripts and the like owned by the Holy See shall be collected by the Germans and handed over to the Vatican. Furthermore, the

Vatican intends to set up a permanent commission charged with the registration of all the damage caused to churches and church property throughout Europe, this body to be composed of high ecclesiastics. In connection with these reports, further announcement is made in *ibid.*, p. 92, that a number of precious works of art have been brought to Rome, especially from Frosinone and Monte Cassino, and that Professor Evers of Munich has been entrusted with the direction of the protection of works of art in the parts of Italy occupied by the Germans.

Bombing of Rome.—*The Tablet* (London) for March 11, 1944, translates parts of articles from the *Osservatore Romano*, regarding damage done to Church property, and in Vatican City, during the air raids on Rome. The results, while regrettable, are, on the whole, not such as cannot be repaired, and consist largely of a number of broken windows, particularly in the Palace of the Holy Office, St. Peter's Oratory, and San Paolo Fuori Le Mura. Protests by the Vatican authorities have been transmitted by the Vatican radio.

Poster Politics in Ancient Rome.—E. H. Brewster, in *CJ.* xxxix, pp. 466–483, discusses the use of public places for political announcements in Rome, largely in the period of the Empire. Beginning with the *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus* which, inscribed on bronze tablets, was posted throughout Roman territory in Republican times, she follows with comments on the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, as preserved at Ancyra and Pisidian Antioch, the Lyons tablet of Claudius, and the *Lex Imperio Vespasiani*. She then devotes some space to the political and other inscriptions scratched or painted on the walls of Pompeian buildings, and in conclusion compares this practice of the Romans of poster politics with similar examples in modern Italy, of which she cites a number of specimens.

Exile under Roman Emperors.—This subject is discussed by Mary V. Braginton in *CJ.* xxxix, pp. 391–407. An attempt is made to treat the subject from the point of view of the person exiled. The period covered is that from Augustus to Trajan. The number of exiles whose names are known is not large, and is confined to persons of wealth or influence. Exile was most frequent during the reigns of Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian. Of the forty-six known to be exiled by Nero, about one-half were political cases. The mildest form was relegation from Rome, or from Rome and Italy, when the exile could choose his own residence. This could be for a term of years, or for life, and property rights were not affected. Severer forms were (a) relegation to a designated place, usually an island, with full property rights; (b) exile to an undesignated place, with loss of citizenship and property; and (c) deportation to an island for life. It is not clear whether these latter deportees were guarded or not. Exiles could receive an allowance for their support from their families, or, when their property was confiscated, the State could allocate an annual income to them from it. Many worked for their living in menial tasks, or continued to practice their regular professions. In some cases their families went with them into exile. We hear of colonies of exiles at Seriphos, Corsica, and Sardinia, and occasionally of exiles who identified themselves with their new homes and communities. The examples we know best are, of course, Ovid and Seneca. On the accession of a new Emperor he often recalled from banishment those who had been exiled by his predecessor—this is especially true of Caligula, Claudius and, to a lesser extent, Nero. With Nerva and Trajan a new era began. The conclusion is reached that Roman exiles had certain advantages over the refugees of today, particularly in the milder cases.

Pompeii.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, pp. 69, 84, gives a list of the damage done at Pompeii. The museum was hit, and, according to a statement by Amedeo Maiuri, a great and valuable part of its contents was destroyed, although it is said that the most valuable objects had been removed. The Macellum, the Temple of Vespasian, the Building of Eumachia and the Lares altar are reported to have been destroyed, to which Maiuri adds the Temple of Jupiter and the portico near the House of Triptolemos, which have suffered much damage.

Damage in Sicily.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 84, summarizes the reports from Sicily, up to November, 1943. In Palermo, the most important monuments are intact, or only slightly damaged. Among the buildings saved are the Cathedral, the church of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti, and the Royal Palace with the Palatine Chapel. The Quattro Canti have been injured, but can be easily restored. The mosaics of Monreale are intact. The temples of Segesta and Agrigento are unhurt, but some other remains at Agrigento have suffered injury. The theater at Segesta, and the classical ruins and Cathedral at Syracuse are intact or only slightly damaged.

Urbino.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 64, reports that during building operations in the oldest part of the town, the ruins of a Roman theater, hitherto quite unknown, have been discovered. Distinct traces of the cavea, built in the Hellenistic manner, and leaning against the hill, with three travertine flights of steps, have been found, as well as fragments of marble columns and other marble building parts, and part of the pavement.

Padua.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 53, reports that during excavations in the Piazza 9 Maggio, a section of the Roman road leading to Porta San Lorenzo, where there was a gate in the Roman period, has been unearthed. At the Piazza dei Signori remains of mediaeval walls have been brought to light.

Sopron, West Hungary.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, reports several items of interest from this locality. At Fertoerakos, near this place, a sanctuary of Mithras, discovered in a cave in 1866, will be preserved and restored, by order of the Bishop of Györ. A large relief, which has been much damaged, is to be provisionally preserved, while a smaller relief, three votive stelae, and various other objects will be brought back to the sanctuary from the Sopron Museum (p. 52). At Sopron-Bánfalva, 20 new tombs, in addition to 33 previously uncovered, have been found, dating from the Arpád period. Many contained minor objects (p. 64).

SCULPTURE

Roman Sculpture in Cleveland.—In *Art in America* xxxii, 1944, pp. 65–83 (13 figs.), MARGARETE BIEBER continues her studies of ancient sculpture in the Cleveland Museum (see *ibid.* xxxi, 1943, pp. 113–126). A brief discussion of the underlying principles of Roman art is followed by illustrations from the Museum's collection. The writer begins with a Neo-Attic relief of Apollo and Nike, dated in the first century B.C., made by a Greek artist from Pentelic marble, and said to have been found in the theater at Capua, one of five representations of this group known. Another Neo-Attic relief, said to have been found in Corfu, and also of Pentelic marble, shows Hermes and Athena. A group of portrait heads is then discussed, as well as a portrait statue of a statesman in a toga, dated in the Flavian period. Two female heads are identified as Octavia, wife of Nero, and the empress Lucilla (165–169 A.D.). Of the period of Hadrian there is a torso of Apollo, which betrays the return to Greek types, and a small portrait head of the emperor, done before Greek influence became pre-eminent. An ash-urn of the Flavian period, and a splendid sarcophagus of the Hadrianic age are described and illustrated as excellent examples of their types. The latest object in the group is a portrait head in black basalt, probably of a priest of Isis, and dated at the end of the second century A.D.

Ostia.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 53, announces the discovery recently of a statue of Mithras in the course of the current excavations, dating from the time of Trajan, and bearing the signature of Kriton of Athens.

POTTERY

Workshop of Perennius.—CHRISTINE ALEXANDER, in *BMMA.* n.s. ii, 1944, pp. 166–172 (10 figs.), gives a concise and clear résumé of the history of Arretine pottery, particularly of its most famous manufacturer, Marcus Perennius Tigranus, who flourished from about 31 B.C. until about 10 A.D. It is supposed that he died about that time, when the concern was taken over by his heir, M. Perennius Bargathes, whose activities ceased during the reign of Tiberius. Shortly after that, Arretine wares degenerated, and the center of activity shifted to Gaul. The best Arretine ware is of the early period, when the signatures of slaves, whose names are almost invariably Greek, appear in conjunction with those of the proprietor. Of the slaves of Perennius, the most famous, perhaps, are Cerdo and Nicephorus. The process of manufacture of the ware is carefully described, and is illustrated by photographs of stamps and molds in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum, which is one of the largest in existence. It is hinted that these craftsmen were greatly influenced by relief designs on silverware, and that the decay of *terra sigillata* may have been due to the invention of the blowing tube, making glass cheaper for table use.

ROMAN BRITAIN

Canterbury.—As a result of the air bombardment, according to *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 81, comprehensive excavations are being undertaken, with the object of finding remains of the Roman and mediaeval periods, before rebuilding the houses destroyed.

Roman Roads.—In *AJ.* xxiii, 1943, p. 157, I. D. MARGARY gives additional evidence that the drainage ditches on main roads in England were

84 feet apart and on secondary roads 63 feet apart.

Grain-Drying Ovens.—In *AJ.* xxiii, 1943, pp. 148–153, R. G. GOODCHILD lists 13 examples of T-shaped corn-drying ovens, found on British sites. Particular attention is given to a well preserved oven at Atworth, Wilts., with its evidence that the furnace was covered by two stone floors. The grain was placed on the upper floor, which was heated by the smoke and gases which passed between the floors. All these T-shaped ovens seem to belong to the fourth century A.D., or later.

Verulamium.—In *AJ.* xxiii, 1943, p. 148, PHILIP CORDER reports on the discovery of a quern stone of Rhineland lava, the upper surface of which is decorated in low relief. This is, apparently, the first decorated quern.

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE

Earliest Christian Books.—In early Christian times it was still the fashion to publish works with literary pretensions on rolls of papyrus. Recent discoveries of very early New Testament manuscripts have shown, however, that the early Christians had a marked preference for the codex or leaf book of parchment or papyrus, which was used more for commercial and other utilitarian purposes. This shows how greatly the Christians were dominated by practical considerations and how little they were influenced by literary conservatism. The employment of the leaf book helps to explain the loss of the ending of Mark's Gospel, Luke's omission of *Mark* 6:44–8:26, the apparent dislocations which spoil the connections in John's Gospel, and the strange combination of three letters of Paul in II *Corinthians* (C.C. MCCOWN in *Bibl. Archaeologist* vi, 1943, pp. 21–31).

Christian Art, Scotland.—In *GBA.* ser. vi, xxiv, 1943, pp. 257–272 (13 figs.), CECIL L. CURLE and FRANÇOISE HENRY give an outline of pre-Romanesque art in Scotland from the fifth to the eleventh centuries. The chief relics are carvings in stone. There are no important architectural remains. It is possible that some good illumination was done, but in this respect the influence of Ireland was very strong. No intelligible inscriptions exist. The history of Scotland during this period is little known. At its beginning it was inhabited by the Picts, but about A.D. 500, the Scots, who came from Ireland, migrated and obtained a foothold. From that time intermittent fighting went on, but in the eighth century the Picts gained supremacy, to lose it to the Scots in 843, when the united kingdom was established. Attempts had been made in the fourth century to convert the Picts to Christianity, without success. In 565, St. Columba founded the monastery of Iona, the influence of which spread all over Pictish Scotland. There were also missions from the South of England, which for a time were superior in influence to those from Ireland. The Vikings, while they sacked Iona and other monasteries, made no permanent settlements in east or south Scotland. To the period of Pictish supremacy belong a series of engraved boulders and pillars, decorated with symbolic designs, many of which are illustrated. The most surprising achievement of these designs is the rendering of animal forms, which are of real excellence. They go back as early as the sixth century. Later, an Irish artistic infiltration spread from the West over the whole of Scotland. This is shown particularly in metal work, the Scottish character of which is attested by the lavish use of silver, which the Irish very rarely employed. A striking example is the Monymusk reliquary in the Edinburgh Museum, which is of Irish type, but is covered with plates of silver, decorated with medallions of enamel. It is traditionally associated with St. Columba, but probably should be dated not earlier than the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth century. Carved slabs of this period found in Scotland, in contrast to the earlier Pictish monuments, become highly religious in character. Conspicuous is the cross-slab Meigle in Perthshire, with representations on its reverse side of Daniel in the lions' den, and of David tending his flocks. On the other hand, the cross-slab at Golspie in Sutherlandshire has Pictish symbols on its reverse. The carvings of St. Andrews, consisting of panels forming a sarcophagus, which probably date between 731 and 761, are in many ways quite different from what preceded them. They represent David under varying aspects, and show Oriental influence. Similar influence appears in the cross-slab at Nigg in Ross-shire, where the Oriental effect is even more marked. Another example is St. Martin's Cross at Iona. In the last two centuries of this period, the Oriental influence disappears, and stone-carving returns to a more simplified technique. Examples are a stone arch near Forteviot, and a cross at Dupplin in Perthshire, decorated with figures of David. The inspiration here appears to be English. Thus, before the Romanesque period, influence on Scotland

came first from Ireland, from which Oriental patterns came in, and finally, after the Viking raids, from England.

Pulborough, Sussex.—In *AJ*. xxiii, 1943, pp. 155–157, E. C. CURWEN reports the discovery of a large lead vessel or cistern with a capacity of about 46 gallons. This is the seventh similar cistern to be found in England, and the second with the Chi-Rho monogram. The purpose and function of these cisterns is still undetermined.

Comnenian Portraits.—ERNEST DEWALD identifies in *Hesperia* xiii, 1944, pp. 78–86, the imperial portraits in the miniature on the recto of the first folio of the Vatican Psalter (Barb. Gr. 372). The miniature is full page, the upper half of which shows Christ as Pantocrator enthroned in a half-mandorla. Below are three royal personages, a bearded emperor, a young beardless prince, and an empress, wearing their crowns and their ceremonial costumes, and standing on low cushioned platforms. The young prince is receiving special attention from heaven, for an angel touching his crown is flying down towards him directly from the throne of Christ. The miniature seems to represent not only the glorification of an imperial family, but also to emphasize the coronation ceremony, and particularly the ceremony in which the young prince is being associated with his father as co-emperor. This is clear from the central position of the prince, his stemma crown (worn only by imperial personages), his regalia, and the special attention he is receiving from the angel. An approximate date for the Barberini Psalter can be reached on the basis of the style of the iconography as well as of the palaeography, i.e. in the latter quarter of the eleventh or even in the early twelfth century. Jerphanion first suggested that the miniature might represent Alexius I Comnenus, his wife, Empress Irene, and their young son, John, crowned in 1092 at the age of four. This same conclusion Dewald reached independently on the basis of a careful examination of the history of the period, of two coins and a seal struck at the time of the coronation, and of other portraits of Alexius and Irene which exist. Furthermore, the word εἰρηνικῇ in the inscription on the miniature occurs immediately beside and above the empress. The emperor and his son both wear semi-spherical crowns, a type introduced by the Comnenes and having a special use, as they were an essential feature of imperial dress. The young prince holds not the usual mappa or globe in his left hand, but a book with jewel-studded covers, perhaps this psalter presented on the occasion of his coronation.

Excavations at Istanbul.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 71, reports that during demolition work near the Hippodrome, in 1939, Byzantine stone work with remains of frescoes had been discovered, and proved to be part of the Martyrion of St. Euphemia. From August to December 1942, systematic excavations were undertaken by A. N. SCHNEIDER and RUDOLPH NAUMANN of the German Archaeological Institute, laying bare the entire building, and uncovering more frescoes. According to Naumann's report (in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* of July 20 and August 1, 1943) the building was probably erected at the beginning of the fifth century as a Nymphaeum or bath, and at the beginning of the seventh century was rebuilt for its later object. The frescoes date between the end of the eighth and the end of the tenth centuries, and are of historical importance; they represent the life of St. Euphemia. Of fourteen large paintings, eight are nearly intact, the others severely damaged. Remains of other representations of saints have been found, dating from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries.

MEDIAEVAL

Amsterdam.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 72, announces the acquisition by the Rijksmuseum of an extremely rare Carolingian chandelier, .34 m. in height.

Muenchen-Gladbach.—During recent air raids the Minster (begun in 972) has been seriously damaged by bombs, and the Town Hall, formerly the abbey, dating in 1663, has collapsed (*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 74).

Kolding, East Jutland.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, pp. 71, 73, announces that in the Kolding fiord a huge rudder was recently found, belonging to an early ship. Divers were sent down, and the ship was located lying in a morass, 400 to 500 m. distant from land. She was completely overturned, had an overall length of ca. 24 m., and was the largest of her kind to be found in Denmark. A closer examination of her hull reveals that she is not a Viking ship, as was at first supposed, but a merchant ship, of a date in the eleventh century A.D., the first merchantman of this epoch to be found in these waters. It is proposed to raise her, under the auspices of the National Museum, but it will not be done till after the war. The rudder, in the meantime, has been temporarily resunk in the morass for preservation.

Oorschot.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 61, reports that the Boterkerkeje, one of the earliest stone churches in Holland, is to be restored. Its west front, which is still in perfect preservation, is a unique example of Dutch eleventh-century ecclesiastical architecture.

Sopron-Banfalva.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 63, gives a brief account of researches carried out by ARPÁD BOTTYÁN, under the auspices of the Count Teleki Scientific Institute and the Hungarian National Museum, in the crypt of the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen near this place. It has been established that it was built in the Romanesque style in the eleventh or twelfth century. Important mediaeval frescoes were discovered, one of which represents the Adoration of the Magi. It is believed that they were painted by Johannes Aquila, who decorated several Hungarian churches about 1400.

Muenster, Westphalia.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 80, gives a list of buildings damaged or destroyed during recent air raids. Most of the old houses in the town are said to have been destroyed, and the Cathedral (1165–1265), the Gothic Lamberti church, the Museum and the University are said to have been gravely damaged, together with other more modern buildings.

Tournai.—In *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 91, an account is given of a very remarkable discovery in the Cathedral. The walls of a chapel in the south aisle proved to be entirely decorated with mural paintings, dating in the twelfth century, which had been covered with plaster. The most impressive and best preserved is a Crucifixion. The principal colors employed in these paintings are red and green. This discovery adds to, and supplements, those recently made in the Churches of Saint-Brice and Saint-Quentin of similar murals.

Klosterneuburg.—Announcement is made in *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 88, that the restoration of part of the Augustinian convent has been finished. Part of the art treasures were exhibited before being put in a place of safety, especially the Verdun altar and architectural fragments of the Romanesque church, dating in the twelfth century, as well as panels of the fifteenth century. While in a place of safety, some of these objects are to be restored.

Moldauthein, Bohemia.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 87, reports that in the cemetery church at Albrechtitz, near this place, frescoes, said to date in the twelfth century, have been discovered, and steps taken to insure their preservation.

Bologna.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 60, gives the information that in the air raid of July 24, 1943, the facade and other parts of the early Gothic church of San Francesco were damaged. In the Piazza Galileo, the Gothic sepulchre of Rolandino Passegeri (1300–1305) was hit.

Aix-la-Chapelle.—According to German information, the fourteenth century spires of the Rathaus were destroyed in recent air raids and the roof fell in. The coronation hall has suffered great injury. In the cathedral the Pfalzkapelle has been damaged (*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 56).

Verona.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 61, reports that during restoration work in the crypt of San Zeno, a fresco, probably dating in the beginning of the fifteenth century, was discovered in the second lunette of the enclosing wall near the altar of Sts. Cosmas and Damianus. The painting is in a good state of preservation, and represents the Mass of St. Martin, showing the saint elevating the host. Later, a second fresco, depicting the Healing of the Sick, was found. Restorations are contemplated.

Painting by Joos van Gent.—In *BMMA.* n.s. ii, 1943, pp. 133–139 (3 figs. and cover illustration) HARRY B. WEHLE publishes a painting by this artist, acquired by the Metropolitan in 1941 from the Blumenthal bequest. The subject is the Adoration of the Magi. He begins with an exposition of the importance of Ghent in the mediaeval Netherlands, only rivalled by Bruges. Joos van Gent (van Wassenhove) was admitted to the Guild of St. Luke in 1464. In 1475 we hear of him as in Rome, but we do not know when he left Ghent, and his activities between 1468 and early 1473 are unknown. Vasari tells us that he executed work for the Duke of Urbino in 1473 and 1474. The picture of the Last Supper that he did at that time is still in Urbino, "unless the Germans have removed it." On the basis of this painting, an altarpiece of the Crucifixion, in the Cathedral of St. Bavon at Ghent, is attributed to him. The painting in the Metropolitan is unquestionably by the same hand, and is the only work of this master in the United States. It is said to have formerly belonged to the Dukes of Frias, kept in their Convento de Santa Clara near Burgos. About 1922 it came to Paris, when Mr. Blumenthal purchased it. Joos remained at Urbino, received other orders in 1474 and 1475, and his last painting, a portrait of Federigo, Duke of Urbino, and his son Guidobaldo, is dated about 1480.

Tilman Riemenschneider.—This sculptor of the Late Gothic Age in Germany is studied by JUSTUS BIER in *Art in America* xxxi, 1943, pp. 172–182 (5 figs.). The known list of his works is not large, but in this article two hitherto unknown monuments are added, those of a Franconian knight, Heinrich Stieber von Buttenheim, and his wife Elizabeth. First in importance of the two is that of Elizabeth, who died in 1507, and lies in the parish church of Buttenheim, where the monuments are still preserved. Her husband died three weeks later. The monument to Elizabeth shows Riemenschneider's own hand, while her husband's "rates as a work executed under his supervision" and "as a good workshop piece, but nothing more." Originally made as standing wall monuments, they have suffered some minor damages. Riemenschneider had made the monument for Elizabeth's father, who died in 1487, which is doubtless why he was commissioned to make these two, and personally did the monument to her, perhaps because of this family connection. The two monuments are fully described, and compared with other known works of the master. Owing to the two deaths being so close together, both were undoubtedly commissioned at the same time. The composition of the monument to Heinrich seems to be greatly influenced by the engraving of *St. George on Foot* by Dürer, which had just been published.

London.—Announcement is made by *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 54, that the National Art Collections Fund has acquired for the Tower Museum the collection of arms and armor of Norton Hall in Northamptonshire. There are six complete suits of armor, one of which is dated in 1470, and two which date from the sixteenth century, and were obviously made for the Spanish court. Many other interesting items, some of extreme rarity, are included.—*Ibid.*, p. 91, states that through the aid of the same Fund, the Victoria and Albert Museum has acquired a terracotta statuette of St. Michael by Pedro Millán, of a height of 90 cm., dating in the early 1500's, one of the few examples of Spanish Gothic sculpture to be seen outside Spain.

RENAISSANCE

The Osonas.—To the known works of these painters, who were among the earliest exemplars of the Renaissance in Spain, CHANDLER R. POST, in *GBA.* ser. vi, xxiv, 1943, pp. 273–282 (12 figs.) adds a number, especially by Rodrigo Osona the younger. Three companion pieces in the Johnson collection in Philadelphia are attributed to him in collaboration with his father, Rodrigo the elder; while by him alone is a pair of panels in the Prado, acquired in 1941, and a painting of Christ Bearing the Cross in a private collection in Palma de Mallorca. A panel of the Nativity in the collection of Mrs. Maria Dernburg in New York is regarded as a studio piece by a pupil working under his direction.

Italian Quattrocento Sculpture.—GEORG SWARZENSKI continues, in *GBA.* ser. vi, xxiv, 1943, pp. 283–304 (17 figs.) (see *AJA.* xlviii, 1944, p. 197) his studies of sculptures in the National Gallery in Washington. The collection of Quattrocento busts is one of the largest in existence. All are portraits. The earlier periods are represented by one small piece, a Madonna from the Kress collection, attributed to Tino da Camaino. Donatello is represented by the Martelli David (from the Widener collection), a polychrome terracotta Madonna (from the Mellon) a Laughing Cupid in bronze from the Widener, and two busts of the youthful St. John from the Kress and Mellon. Six works by Desiderio are included, of which four are busts; one of these, formerly called Giovanna d'Albizzi, (Mellon) is executed in wood, canvas and gesso, and is in poor preservation—the other three busts are in marble. That of Marietta Strozzi is unfinished, while that of Isotta da Rimini (Kress) is a masterpiece. A bust of a boy (Mellon) is characteristic of Desiderio's most successful work. In addition to these busts, there are two reliefs, one of the Madonna (Mellon) and one of St. Jerome (Widener). Antonio Rosellino is represented by two busts and three other sculptures. The busts are of boys, one from the Kress, the other from the Mellon—the former is often called a St. John the Baptist, and is strongly suggestive of Desiderio. A clay statuette of the seated Madonna (Mellon) is "a more personal expression of Rossellino's art." A stucco relief of the Madonna with heads of angels (Kress) is an "obvious" example of his style, while a large marble Madonna relief from the same collection is "a brilliant example" of Florentine Quattrocento sculpture. Of Duccio, a Madonna relief (Mellon) "reveals his unique spirit." There is a large group of works of Mino da Fiesole—perhaps the most interesting is a "superb" pair of allegorical figures (Mellon), which "are the most perfect expression of Mino's personality." Other examples are a Madonna relief from the same collection, a stucco bust of Rinaldo della Luna and a bust of St.

Catherine of Siena (both Kress) and a bust of Astorgio Manfredi (Widener). In this last bust the signature appears as "Nino" rather than "Mino"—a mistake which also occurs on a bust in Berlin. Two busts by Benedetto da Maiano come from the Kress and Widener collections—that from the Kress, a terracotta male head and shoulders, is an outstanding example. Pollaiuolo is represented by a bronze bust of a warrior (Kress) which is attributed to him on the basis of a similar bust in the Bargello. Of Verrocchio's work there are many outstanding examples. Best of all is the bust of Giuliano Medici (Mellon), while rare for him is a terracotta relief of the Adoration (Kress), an example hitherto unknown. There are Della Robbias, but none of superlative merit. Finally, a statuette of St. Sebastian by Matteo Civitale (Kress) is signalized as typical of this master's work.

Turning from the Florentine Quattrocento to the school of Milan, three sculptures are attributed to Giovanni Antonio Amadeo, of which perhaps the finest is the portrait in relief of Filippo Maria Visconti (Kress). Other Milanese sculptures are mentioned, showing the close connection with Venice. The Gallery also has examples of the work of sculptors of Lombard origin, who worked in Southern Italy and Sicily. Finally, mention is made of the marble bust of Giovanni Capponi by Leone Leoni (Kress) as an early Cinquecento masterpiece.

Of Cinquecento sculpture, the Mellon collection includes two early statues by Sansovino, a Venus and a Bacchus, both belonging to "the most perfect examples of High Renaissance statuary." Another example is an original version of the Mercury of Giovanni da Bologna, the only piece of sculpture in the round by this master in America.

Milan.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 69, gives an impressive list of churches and public buildings destroyed or damaged in air raids up to September 1943. The churches include San Ambrogio, San Nazaro, Santa Babila, San Satiro, San Sebastiano, San Giorgio, San Fedele, San Antonio, and San Simpliciano. The Cathedral has suffered but slight injuries; some statues have been destroyed, most of them damaged, while the windows had been removed to safety. Of secular buildings, the Brera was hit, as well as a wing of the Castello Sforzesco, the Archiepiscopal Palace, the Ambrosiana Library, the Palazzo Reale, the Palazzo del Senato, and the Casa Fontana, the oldest house in the city. The terracotta façade of the Ospedale Maggiore is nearly all safe, although the building was hit. The Scala theatre was also hit, but can be restored.

Genoa.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, lists the monuments in Genoa damaged, if not destroyed in air raids, up to September 1943. Of interest to readers of this JOURNAL are the churches of Santa Maria di Carignano, and San Siro, both of Renaissance construction, although the latter is an earlier church rebuilt in the Baroque style.

Naples.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943. pp. 69, 84, gives some information on the losses suffered by Naples in the war. Santa Chiara has gone, but its campanile and cloisters are safe. The cathedral, San Martino, and most of the churches and monasteries are intact. The upper story of the Palazzo Reale has suffered much, and the Palazzo d'Angri (1773) and the Palazzo Maddaloni (ca. 1650) have been damaged. The National Museum is intact as far as the building is concerned.

Turin.—During the air raids on the city, according to *The New Pallas* (vii, 1943, p. 70) the Town Hall, or Palazzo di Città and the Palazzo Carignano were damaged, if not destroyed; both are of the seventeenth century. Two churches (Carmine and San Giovanni) are also mentioned as having been hit.

A New Attribution.—A portrait of a Knight of Malta, from the Blumenthal collection in New York, previously considered an early work of El Greco, is denied him by MARGARETTA SALINGER, and quite convincingly attributed to Jacopino del Conte (1510–1598), a painter who today enjoys little reputation, but was greatly esteemed by Vasari (*BMMA.* n.s. ii, 1944, pp. 164–165, fig.).

Attribution to Cranach.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 63, tells of a Madonna belonging to the church at Pollin in the Bohemian Forest, which was sent to Prague for restoration. At Prague it was discovered that the same model was used for the Madonna as for the painting of the same subject, known to be by Cranach, in the Cathedral at Breslau. The same is also true in the case of the Child. The picture is therefore attributed to Cranach, and is of the same period as the Breslau Madonna.

Florence.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 64, gives the information that the frescoes by Filippino Lippi of the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine are being restored, and when completed, will be put in a place of safety.

A New Titian.—According to *The New Pallas* (vii, 1943, p. 63) a painting in a private collection at Savona, representing the Madonna blessing two kneeling figures and surrounded by soaring angels, in front of an architectural background, has been submitted to the opinion of authorities, prior to consideration of a sale. These authorities consider it a late work of Titian, and have sent it to Rome for closer examination. In the meantime, it has been insured for two million lire.

Diane de Poitiers and Jean Cousin.—The Metropolitan Museum has recently received as a gift from the children of Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney two of the magnificent tapestries, the design of which is attributed to Jean Cousin, made for the mansion of Diane de Poitiers at Anet. There were eight in the set, four of which, after passing through other hands, are now back at Anet; one is in the Museum of Rouen, and one in a dealer's possession in New York. The two in the Metropolitan, portraying the Drowning of Britomartis, and the Blasphemy of Niobe, are described and published by JOHN GOLDSMITH PHILLIPS in *BMMA.* n.s., ii, 1943, pp. 109–117 (4 figs.). The subject of each tapestry is described in ten lines of verse, perhaps by Joachim de Bellay. The connection of the myth of Britomartis with the invention of nets and snares by Apollo is well depicted, while Diana arrives on the scene just as Britomartis is about to sink. Of course Diana is a portrait of Diane de Poitiers, and is so identified by the presence of her ciphers and insignia on the goddess's garments, and by the resemblance to her accepted portraits. Jean Cousin, who is believed to be the designer of the tapestries, is the first of his name—a son followed his footsteps. He was a typical product of the Renaissance—a painter of note, a master of the graphic arts, an architect, a sculptor, and a student of perspective, on which he wrote a book. If living today, he would probably be a scientist or an engineer, for he also has a number of inventions to his credit. Other tapestry designs by him are known—one of a set of eight, of scenes from the life of St. Mammès, now in private possession in France, is illustrated for purposes of comparison. The previous attributions of the (lost) stained glass windows at Anet to Cousin, long disputed and rejected, should now be reconsidered in his favor. The tapestries were probably made in Paris and a date in the last half of the sixteenth century is suggested.

Paris.—According to *The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 75, the marble statue of the Mater Dolorosa in the Church of St. Paul, ordered in 1586 from the sculptor Germain Pilon by Catherine de Medici, has been restored at the expense of the city under the supervision of the Service des Monuments Historiques. In carrying out the restoration, use was freely made of the clay model in the Louvre.

The "Drake Cup."—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 88, reports that the National Art Collections Fund of England has acquired this object. It is a representation of the globe made in the sixteenth century by the Swiss goldsmith, Abraham Gessner, and is said to have been presented by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Francis Drake. Long in a private collection in England, it was sold at auction in 1942, when the Fund purchased it. It has been presented to the city of Plymouth in recognition of her courage during the air raids.

Spiral Towers in Europe.—In *GBA.* ser. vi, xxiv, 1943, pp. 233–248 (15 figs.) WOLFGANG BORN describes Boromini's Church of St. Ivo in Rome (1660) in the courtyard of the present University. The design of its dome is unusual, in combining a number of heterogeneous elements in a common stylistic background. Of interest is the spire above the lantern, which is helical, and characteristic of his "feverish Baroque style." The stepped roof of St. Ivo is patterned after the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, the lantern follows the Round Temple of Baalbek, while the helical spire is taken from the traditional concept of the Tower of Babel. The writer takes up the study of spiral towers, beginning with the Mesopotamian zigurrats, which were ascended by outside stairways. Herodotos refers to a "Temple of Bel" at Babylon with a circular flight of stairs. Excavations on the site show that the zigurrat was not so built, but was ascended by free-standing staircases, so what Herodotos must have referred to is another structure, now lost. Such writers as the Byzantine Cosmas Indicopleustes and Benjamin of Tudela described what they believed to be the Tower of Babel as a spiral tower, and similar towers have been found in Persia and Mesopotamia. Islamic architecture used this principle in the construction of minarets (mosques in Samarra and Cairo are described and illustrated). The writer then discusses the iconography of the Tower of Babel in Europe, illustrating his description with numerous examples. Beginning as a square building with outside steps, it eventually became a conical tower with a spiral ramp or staircase. This is perhaps due to a closer contact

with the Near East in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The illustrations of the Tower of Babel inspired the Augsburg clockmaker Hans Schlottheim (1547–1625) to use Biblical motifs for decorating a table clock in 1585, now in Dresden, which is surmounted with a helical spire, with an outside ramp. Also in Dresden is another clock by this maker dated in 1602, in the form of the Tower of Babel, represented as hexagonal, stepped, and also crowned with a helical spire. In 1679 the German Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, founder of the Museo Kircheriano in Rome, published a book devoted to the restoration of the Tower of Babel, on which he had been working for the previous fifteen years, and in which Baroque influence is felt (an illustration from this book is reproduced). It is believed that Boromini must have known Kircher, and that his design for the spire of St. Ivo was derived from some of the implications of the Tower of Babel. It is obvious that Boromini's spire shows a strong resemblance to that of Schlottheim's clock of 1585, and the design may well have been communicated to him by Kircher. Another Baroque church with a spiral spire was San Gregorio at Messina (after 1660) destroyed in the earthquake of 1908, built by Guarino Guarini (1624–1685). Another architect who used the spiral motif was Count Amadeo di Castelmonte (1646–1683; two of his designs reproduced). It persists into the eighteenth century, and was employed in one of Piranesi's engravings. The article ends with the introduction of this motif from Italy into Northern Europe, particularly Scandinavia.

FAR EAST

London.—*The New Pallas* vii, 1943, p. 65, mentions an important exhibition of *Animals in Chinese Art* held in the Berkeley Galleries in London during May and June, 1943.

U.S.S.R.

The following data continue the translation and summary of the Jubilee volume published in 1942 by the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Soviet scholarship. This section of the volume, which was edited by V. P. Volgin, E. V. Tarle and A. M. Pankvatova, was written by S. V. Kiselev. The footnotes and bibliographical references have been omitted.

Siberia.—Considerable attention was focused upon the study of Scytho-Sarmatian monuments in the Sayan-Altai uplands and the Baikal area. It was found there that from its cultural beginnings in the highly developed Upper Bronze Age ("Karasuk") culture, the population progressed far in its development—attaining great success in agriculture (partly irrigated), in the arts of war and in the applied arts.

At the same time, the outward forms of material culture, such as the shape of ornaments and weapons, the prevalence of the so-called Scytho-Siberian animal style, were found to be very close to Scythian. Here belong the culture of the "slab burials" on the Selenga River, Tagar culture on the Yenisei, and the Maiemir culture in the Altai. Similar discoveries had previously been made by the Soviet Expeditions to Outer Mongolia and Tannu Tuva. The Scythian and a series of cultures resembling Scythian had left on the steppes of Eurasia widely distributed traces of a highly homogeneous cultural-historical stage, which resulted in many of the most important developments of Oriental History.

Despite a strong Chinese influence demonstrated by P. Kozlov in the tumuli of Noin-Ula in northern Mongolia, the culture of the Huns shows a fundamental affinity to the more ancient culture with Scythian affinities. At the same time the peculiarities of the Hunnic art—such as the ornamentation of the favorite animal struggle scenes by multicolored inlay or incrustation—suggest the comparison with Sarmatian art. This is also true of the cultures of other regions in southern Siberia.

The finds from this so-called "Tashtyk" Period on the middle course of the Yenisei River, discovered during the excavations of the sumptuous burials of tribal leaders, included many artistic carvings related closely to both Hunnic and Sarmatian motifs. In addition, the enormous stone tumuli from the Altai, such as the Pazyryk tumulus, explored by M. P. Griaznov, yielded many objects decorated with effigies of animals and depicting animal battle scenes.

The carvings and the appliqué work in felt and leather were richly colored in the Hunnic-Sarmatian style. The cultural unity of the steppe populations was as strong at this time as it was during the Scythian Period. The Hunnic-Sarmatian Period was characterized by internal and external conflicts originating from the gradual breakdown of their primordial unity and their clan organization. At the same time this was the period during which was formed the contemporary physical type

of the peoples of Central Asia. This is most clearly demonstrated by the remarkable two-thousand-year-old portrait gallery of mortuary masks from Tashtyk. These plaster casts were taken from the faces of the dead before cremation. The study of the masks shows how the Palaeo-Europoid type, which dominated the Siberian steppes during the Bronze Age is replaced by the new Mongoloid type.

During the Hunnic-Sarmatian Period southern Siberia had strong cultural connections with China. Many Chinese objects have been found. Typical were the ceremonial Chinese umbrellas presented to leaders of allied tribes by the Emperors found in the burials of Tashtykian aristocracy. Of particular interest in this connection were the excavations begun in 1941 by L. A. Evtiukhova and V. P. Levasheva near Abakan, of a palace which is of Chinese architecture and roofed with tiles bearing Han inscriptions.

The extent of penetration of the southern Siberian tradition of the Hunnic-Sarmatian art is shown by the recent excavations at Ust Polu near Salekhard, where at the site of a sanctuary were found remarkable carved spoons and combs decorated with animal style ornamentation. V. N. Chernetsov's studies reveal that these discoveries shed much light upon the origin of the Ob River Ugrians.

During the sixth to the seventh century A.D., the population of southern Siberia had succeeded in creating a powerful state with a highly developed culture, which in many respects served as a model for all nomadic tribes of the more westerly steppes. The Altaian tribes, whose culture has been recently brought to light by the excavations of A. Glukhov, S. Kiselev, and L. Evtiukhova, had in the sixth century formed the extensive Turki State, known as Tug'yu to the Chinese chroniclers. This State, which embraced the area lying between the Great Hingan and Zeravshan, extended from China to the Altai Mountains. The fact that the original Orkhon writing was used by the Turki nobles for mass propaganda, is witness to the relatively high level of their civilization. A comparable cultural level was attained by the population of the Baikal area. The investigations of the sites of the so-called "Kurumchi Blacksmiths" by the University of Irkutsk have disclosed the fact that in the sixth to the seventh century A.D. the people of the Baikal area were able to smelt cast iron, about nine centuries earlier than in Europe. The monuments of the Kirghiz State on the middle Yenisei show this dread rival of the Orkhon Turks to have been possessed of a very high level of culture. Agricultural implements, as well as the weapons, demonstrate their great skill as plowmen and soldiers. Most remarkable are the finds made in the tumuli of the Kirghiz nobles excavated by Evtiukhova at Kopeny on the Yenisei River. Finely embellished golden vessels, hunting scene ornaments on saddle accoutrements, rich harness decorations—all these were distinguished by exquisite artistic taste, and show not only familiarity of Kirghiz artists with the art of China and Iran, but also their ability to get away from sheer imitation of samples, and to create as their basis a highly individual, very realistic style of their own. The finds and inscriptions (including epitaphs of various Khans and Begs) from Kopeny depict the internal life of the Kirghiz state, governed by a sybaritic slave-owning aristocracy exacting heavy taxes from its subjects.

European Russia.—The early middle ages in southern Russia are particularly well represented by the ruins of the Khazar fortress of Sarkel, initiated under the leadership of M. I. Artamonov. The inventories show that the material culture of the Khazar people was not homogeneous, and that it largely consisted of the ancient native Sarmato-Alanic elements, strongly affected by a nomadic culture related to that of the Turki of Siberia. This apparently reflects the ethnic complexity of the Khazar State, which was an advanced base of the Turkish Kaganate on the Volga and in the Caucasus. A great change has also taken place in our knowledge of the rival state of the Khazars, the realm of the Volga Bulgars. Pre-Tartar Bulgarian inventories and even architecture have been identified by A. P. Smirnov from the excavations of the ancient Bulgarian city of Suvar and of its necropolis. The Tartar monuments of Bulgar and Suvar had also been studied. Of particular interest was a palatial structure at Bulgar which proved to be the sumptuously decorated Oriental baths, furnished with central heating, running hot and cold water, and a jet fountain. From the study of the complex, Smirnov concludes that this culture was of local origin, having been originated in part by the settled peoples of the Volga area (the makers of the "bast-mat"—*rogozhnaia*—pottery) and also by the nomadic cattle-breeders belonging to the Sarmatian group of tribes. According to Smirnov, to this Bulgarian culture could be attributed the peculiar status of the

Volga-Kama Region during the Golden Horde Period.

The principal monuments of the Golden Horde, including Sarai-Baru, Sarai Berke, Uvek, and many other *gorodishches*, have been excavated on a large scale, mainly by Saratov archaeologists. The results of the excavations, published only incompletely and in a fragmentary form, yielded very important materials for the study of the urban life, architecture, and city planning of the Golden Horde. Many special investigations, such as the study of the pottery, by A. ÎU. ÎAkubovskii, have shown the great complexity of the culture of the Golden Horde cities. They demonstrate its dependence upon those Oriental and Occidental centers, which had been forced to contribute the artists and technicians to create the sumptuous and frequently highly artistic exterior of the centers of Mongol servitude.

During the pre-Revolutionary period, the archaeological study of ancient Russia was largely limited to the excavation of the tumuli of the eastern Slavs. Practically no explorations had been conducted in the ancient Russian cities. The problems of the origin of eastern Slavs were usually discussed without the use of archaeological materials. During the Soviet Period all this was changed. The study of the so-called "Romenskie" *gorodishches* and the south Russian hoards of the fifth to the seventh centuries made it possible to pose before archaeologists the problem of the culture of the Antae and of the relation of the Antaean Union to the Kievan Russia. B. A. Rybakov's work has brought to light strong archaeological evidence supporting the contention that the culture of the Slavic tribes of Kievan Russia was a successor of the culture of the Antae. Consequently it became possible to place the formation of the Dnieprovian Slavs in a very remote past. A parallel accumulation of materials on the late Diakovo *gorodishches* of the Volga-Oka Mesopotamia and the early burials of the Vyatichi, Krivichi, and Novgorod Slovens have enabled the archaeological group headed by P. N. Tretiakov to depict the formation of the northeastern Slavic tribes as a local process conditioned by the entire past history of the Volga-Oka populations known by the materials from the Diakovo *gorodishches*. Another parallel is available in the case of the formation of other peoples of the Volga-Oka basin, the Meri people (Sarskoe *gorodishche* near Rostov) the Muromians and the Mordovians, all connected with the local population responsible for the Lower Oka and Middle Volga *gorodishches* of the "Gorodetski" type. Such a solution changes the customary theories of ethnic origins of eastern Europe based largely on philological evidence. It discredits the notion of constant enmity of Slavs with their neighbors, a notion which was created under the influence of historical events and ideas of much later times.

Monographic investigations of individual eastern Slavic tribes became possible as a result of numerous excavations of Slavic tumuli from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries. Of particular interest are the studies of the Vyatichi by A. V. Artsikhovskii, Radimichi by B. A. Rybakov and Krivichi by P. N. Tretiakov. Many changes have been introduced into the accepted chronologies and definitions dealing with these ethnic groupings. Most successful, however, were the recent studies of ancient Russian cities.

The oldest dwellings and defensive structures, attributed to the eighth or ninth century had been discovered in Kiev, and the dwellings and some craft shops of the Grand Ducal Period have been studied. Archaeological work in Sophia Cathedral disclosed ancient frescoes depicting many historic characters, including the family of Yaroslav the Wise. The burial of Yaroslav had been uncovered and an attempt was made by M. M. Gerasimov to reconstruct, on the basis of the skeletal remains, the physical appearance of the outstanding ruler and lawgiver of ancient Russia. Abundant materials, pertaining in the main to the history of urban culture, had been secured from many smaller ancient cities of Kievan Russia. Of particular interest were such finds as the ancient smithies at Vyshgorod, with ceramic forges and iron pigs. Large-scale excavations of Raika near Berdichev, which had been completely destroyed in 1258 by Daniil, Prince of Galich, had resulted in an unusual collection of everyday objects of the thirteenth century including many tools of blacksmiths, jewellers, armorers, and potters.

New valuable data have come to light as a result of the excavations on the territory of the little known South Russian Slavic principality of Tmutarakan. Typically Slavic pottery had been found in the upper strata of the *gorodishche* at Taman, and similar finds have been made at the Koktebel *gorodishche* in the Crimea. M. I. Artamonov's investigations on the Don show that the Don River Valley was an area of intensive Slavonic colonization (largely out of Chernigov) during the eleventh century, and that Tumtarakan

was not an isolated outpost of the Slavs in the Black Sea area, but that it was territorially connected with Russia proper.

Large-scale excavations have been conducted in Novgorod by A. V. Artsikhovskii and the Novgorod Historical Museum. The excavations have disclosed the very high level of the communal culture of old Novgorod. The city had not only been paved much earlier than the contemporary cities of Western Europe, but it had also anticipated them in having water mains and sewers (beginning with the eleventh century). The majority of the domestic sites excavated in Novgorod belonged to tradesmen. Particularly interesting were the finds from the houses of a shoemaker and a potter. The finds permit complete reconstruction of manufacturing processes. The excavations at the Torg (old market place) showed the presence of large amounts of seeds of cereals, fruit, berries, and vegetables. This permits us to depict a detailed picture of the fruit and truck garden economy in the suburbs of Novgorod.

The cities of northeastern Russia have also been intensively studied. In 1926 V. A. Gorodtsov conducted large excavations at the site of old Ryazan, burned down on December 23, 1237, by Khan Batu. Many objects, abandoned by the inhabitants during the attack came to light, including a complete blacksmith's shop and the shop of a maker of amber ornaments. Analogous materials have been collected from the excavations in Suzdal and Vladimir. N. I. Voronin excavated Prince Andrew's palace compound at Bogolyubovo. Investigating the area around the famous tower with anteroom, Voronin found the remains of cloisters connecting the palace with the tower and the chapel, and also discovered some valuable architectural details in the ancient portion of the church. The finely carved stone ornaments and filigree details of gilded copper permit the reconstruction of the sumptuous and refined decoration of the Bogolyubov palace complex, which in its size exceeded similar edifices of Medieval Europe. The conditions of life in the cities of later feudal periods have also been disclosed. The Kremlins of Tver and Dmitrov, Pronsk *gorodishche* and old Radonezh near Zagorsk have been excavated by Milonov, and S. A. Tarakanova excavated the rural feudal settlements near Novgorod.

A large archaeological task was performed in connection with the digging of the Moscow subway. Archaeologists attached to the excavating crews have succeeded not only in determining a complete archaeological cross-section of Moscow, but also in exploring many important sections of the ancient city. Thus, it was possible to reconstruct the fortifications of Zemlianoi Gorod and Belyi Gorod, which had long disappeared, to investigate the towers and walls of Kitaigorod, to solve many problems of historical topography of Moscow, the location of many streets, buildings, churches, and suburban villas. The finds were extremely rich, including costumes of Moscow nobles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, weapons, and many every-day objects.

A very extensive work on restoring ancient Russian monuments had been performed. Most important of these were the Sophia Cathedral in Kiev, Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod, IUriev Monastery Church in Novgorod, Trinity-Sergius Monastery near Moscow, cathedrals and palaces of Kremlin. A completely new approach to the ancient architecture of Russia has become possible. The same is true of much new data bearing on the history of the ancient Russian art, resulting from the restoration of frescoes, mosaics, and icons in old churches in Kiev, Vladimir, and elsewhere.

Caucasus.—The study of ancient Caucasian cultures was initiated in Soviet Russia by N. MARR, and continued by his students.

The Caucasus was one of the oldest centers of metallurgical culture, and held a paramount world position as a bridge between the lands of Western Asia and the Classical Orient on one side and the Aegean Anatolian world and northeastern Africa on the other. Thus, this area has commanded exceptional attention from Soviet scientists. Recent archaeological investigations have embraced a very large area, in North Caucasus, Kabardinia, Ossetia, and in all areas of Trans-Caucasia. The Black Sea littoral (Abkhazia) has also been studied extensively, as well as mountainous Karabakh on the Armenian-Iranian frontier. As a result of intensive recent study the Caucasus appears to have been one of the ancient focal points of culture.

The antiquity of Caucasian cultures and tribes was first proven by the discovery of a Neanderthaloid skull near Pyatigorsk, and the Mesolithic site of Ilskaia in North Caucasus. However, from the points of view of history and archaeology, the most interesting periods were the early Metal Ages, the Chalcolithic Period and the so-called Bronze Age. Consequently, much attention was paid by Soviet archaeologists to the investigations

of the regions which were likely to shed new light upon the problem of the origin and development of metallurgy in the ancient Caucasus. Thus, during 1924–1926 GAIMK excavated Kobyakovo *gorodishche* near Aksaiskaia in North Caucasus, where the lowest cultural strata were found to contain monuments of two ancient pre-Scythian cultures. These strata contained both metal and stone inventories, which made it possible to attribute them to the Chalcolithic Period. Moreover, in the second pre-Scythian stratum were found such inventories as flint flakes, flint arrowheads, pressure-flakers, scrapers, hammers, and both polished and perforated implements. A hammer-axe, found in this horizon, was of especial interest. Some of the objects were manufactured of local, shell-containing limestone, which suggests the antiquity of a local stone-working craft. Bronze fragments and long-legged crucibles were found in the same stratum, testifying that metal smelting was already practiced in this region of the North Caucasus during the early Chalcolithic Period. It is evident that copper was smelted as well as a low-grade bronze containing a small admixture of tin. There are some considerations which indicate that this local North Caucasian industry was in some degree connected with the ancient metallurgical centers of Western Asia.

The pottery from this period is also typical. The vessels restored from fragments were handmade, wide-mouthed, spherical, flat-bottomed vessels decorated with geometric carved or string-stamped ornament consisting of short lines, fir-tree designs, and chevrons.

The anthropomorphic stone figurines were curiously reminiscent of the archaic Egyptian ithyphallic statues of the god Min from Koptos. Finally, of great interest was the distribution of animal remains from Kobyakovo *gorodishche*. Small horned animals (*Capreolus* and *Ovis*) predominated (34% of the bones); *Canis* was second (27%), *Bos domesticus*, 15%, and *Equus caballus* was already known (7.5%).

The same traits characterize the finds made in the first pre-Scythian cultural stratum which also belongs to the period of the first appearance of metal. In addition to the flint pressure-flakers, points and scraper-like implements of quartzite, fragments of copper and bronze objects are found together with crucibles suggesting the local nature of the North Caucasian metallurgy.

The sherds were also covered with geometric ornament. With a slight variation, the proportion of genera represented by skeletal materials is identical. All this suggests an exceptionally slow tempo in the development of the North Caucasian culture during the Chalcolithic period, which was also typical of the development of all Caucasian cultures during that period.

The classical center of ancient Caucasian bronze metallurgy was the Koban region, located in Ossetia. While many bronzes of the Kobanian Epoch and others of a related type had been found before the Revolution, most of these came from predatory or unsystematic excavations, so that it was impossible to trace the succession of cultural strata, to date the finds, and to formulate the historico-archaeological characterization of the Koban culture.

During 1935 the excavations in Digoria in North Ossetia by the Historical Museum (Moscow) Expedition under the leadership of E. I. Krupnov revealed the remains of a pre-Kobanian culture in Galiati cemetery. Among the typical finds were bronze ornaments and an example of the most archaic classical flexed burial. In the Tagauri area near the Upper Kobani River, Krupnov found a curious combination of stone and bronze inventories. All these finds indicate the great antiquity of the pre-Kobanian, and partly, Kobanian culture which are obviously interconnected not merely territorially. The bronze knife and flint arrowhead from Tagauri have been attributed by E. I. Krupnov to the second millennium B.C.

A Kobanian village site, which was found nearby at Kamunta, yielded a bronze fibula of an extremely rare type. The Digorian excavations were continued through 1937–1938 at Upper Rutkha burial site and resulted in very rich finds (largely bronze) belonging to several stages of the Kobanian culture. In this case also was found the combination of bronze and stone inventories and in addition polished and drilled stone axes, together with bronze weapons and ornaments, and a simultaneous utilization of flint and bronze arrowheads. Here also were excavated slab-faced, rectangular collective burials, and vestiges of partial incineration. All this material will permit the study of roots and stages of Kobanian culture and also will determine obvious connections between the Kobanian monuments and analogous bronze inventories from other archaeological areas of the Caucasus. Thus, a typical Kobani inventory had been found in 1921 in Ordzhonikidze (formerly Vladikavkaz). Objects of Kobanian type had also

been found in Kabardinia and also (hidden in pots) in Abkhazia.

It appears, therefore, that the entire region of the Central Caucasus (Kabardinia, North Ossetia, and Checheno-Ingushetia) is covered with Bronze Age monuments, largely of the Kobanian Epoch. This is, undoubtedly, the location of one of the centers of bronze metallurgy, which had retained its importance well into the Middle Ages (cf. the excavations in the catacomb burial ground near Argun River).

Relatively large-scale excavations had been conducted by the North Caucasian Expedition of the Historical Museum of 1939 in Checheno-Ingushetia and Daghestan, notably in the Chechen Mountains and along the shore of the Caspian. Many Bronze Age finds had been made, beginning with the second millennium B.C. Of particular interest is a group of monuments contemporaneous typologically with Kobanian burials from the western Caucasus (first millennium B.C.). Among important objects was a group of stone box burials near Khorochoi, accompanied by fir-tree ornamented pottery, flint arrowheads and bronze ornaments. Of great interest is the image of a two-wheeled cart with spoked wheels, found on the walls of a stone box near Berekei. This not only gives us a picture of an ancient Caucasian vehicle, but also enables us to establish a connection between the ancient cultures of Central Caucasus and Western Asia where the most primitive type of chariot had made its first appearance at the end of the fourth millennium in Sumer. [The oldest wheeled vehicle was excavated by the Field Museum-Oxford University Joint Expedition at Kish during March, 1928. This vehicle is attributed to the period about 3,000 B.C.] Finally, a long series of objects (storage pits, querns, pestles, flint sickle blades, and bones) gives abundant material for the reconstruction of the economic life of the epoch.

Many Megalithic monuments (menhirs and dolmens) have been preserved throughout the Caucasus. This important group also includes Cyclopic structures, particularly fortresses. A large number of these have been discovered, mapped, described, and partly excavated during the past twenty-five years. The problem of comparative investigation of the Cyclopic and Megalithic monuments in the Caucasus had been formulated.

Excavations of dolmens had been conducted by B. V. Lunin during 1923–1924 upon the Black Sea littoral of the Caucasus near Krasnoaleksandrovski on the Ash River. Here at the corners of one of the dolmens were found polished stone axes, bronze objects, and menhir-like structures. These and other excavations (e.g. of the dolmens at Gelendzhik on the Black Sea) indicate that many of the Caucasian Megalithic monuments should be attributed to the Chalcolithic or even to the Bronze Age.

Other important Megalithic studies were made in Abkhazia during 1934 by I. I. Meshchaninov and in 1937 by Soloviev and Lukin. The objects belonged to two cultural strata. The lower stratum, much earlier than the upper, belonged to the period of the erection of the dolmen. The upper stratum showed that the burial rites connected with the Megalithic structures had been long in existence. In both strata were found copper and bronze objects, some of which were related to the Kobanian culture, specifically to the inventories from the Digorian burials. Consequently these dolmens may be connected with the monuments from the Kobanian Period.

Important archaeological work has also been conducted in Azerbaidzhan, mainly in the mountainous Karabakh area, where many monuments were found. These appeared to have been closely connected with the ancient Oriental cultures, and particularly with the Urartu. These finds may shed light upon the extent of the Urartian Kingdom, and upon the reciprocal influences between the Caucasian and Urartian cultures. Investigations here show that in the remote past the Urartian, and related to them the Japhethic, tribes living in the Caucasus succeeded in developing a high and original culture and establishing a strong independent state. These Urartian and the related ancient Caucasian cultures were closely connected with the great cultures of the ancient Near East.

During 1926 I. I. Meshchaninov found in Kyzyl-Vank the original painted pottery attributed to the second millennium B.C. Painted pottery from the same period had been found in 1926 by A. Alekperov on Milskaia steppe. In some respects this pottery is closely related to analogous objects found near Borchaly in Georgia; at the same time it shows some connection with the ancient Hittite and Elamitic cultures. Meshchaninov considers this painted pottery from Azerbaidzhan "not an isolated phenomenon, but representative of the Western Asiatic world." To the same group of monuments belong inventories of the white in-

crusted Rössler culture discovered in Gandzha *Raion*. In ornamentation the pottery of this culture is closely related to the Elamite culture of Mussian. At the same site were found bronze and iron objects of the Khaldic Epoch. Thus, these objects may also be closely connected with the culture of ancient Western Asia.

Of great importance have been the explorations of the Cyclopean fortresses of Azerbaidzhan, notably those conducted by A. Alekperov and I. Dzhafar-Zade. Some of the fortresses "are dated by the oldest written testimony in Trans-Caucasia of the Khaldic (Urartian) Period." In 1927 were explored the Cyclopean fortresses in the Airum Mountains in Gandzha *Raion*, Azerbaidzhan. In 1928 Alekperov and Dzhafar-Zade discovered in Kalakent Cyclopean masonry in an excellent state of preservation, and it was even possible to reconstruct the ground plan of the fortress characterized by terrace-like remains of surviving walls. Near one of the fortresses were found extensive burial grounds of stone box burials. An analogous stone box with typical Trans-Caucasian Bronze inventory of the Khaldic Period (ninth–seventh century B.C.) had been found in 1925 near Baen. Consequently, this archaeological complex was also closely connected with the Urartian epoch and culture.

During 1926 Meshchaninov initiated the excavations in the mountainous Karabakh and in the Nakhichevan areas. At Khodzhaly, tumuli of five different types have been discovered and excavated; a stone tumulus here contained a burial vault constructed of slabs; inventories included bronze objects and 1,500 sardonyx beads. At the same place were found potsherds of a ware with geometric ornament, flakes and an Assyrian bead. All these finds establish a close connection between the Khodzhaly monuments and Assyrian culture.

In Kyzyl-Vank, Meshchaninov found remarkable polychrome ware with geometric ornaments, a mortuary chamber constructed of large slabs, obsidian arrowheads, stone agricultural implements, and associated with them bronze and iron objects enabling him to attribute this burial to a lengthy period consisting of Bronze and Iron Ages.

During 1938, IA.I Gummel has excavated in Kirkidzhan and Stepanakert. Bronze objects of fine workmanship from Kirkidzhan can be attributed to the transition period between the Bronze and Iron Ages, i.e, the beginning of the Urartian State at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. The collective burial in Stepanakert Tumulus No. 103 belongs to an earlier period, probably the second millennium B.C.

Other important pre-Urartian and Urartian monuments have been discovered in Armenia. B. B. Piotrovski and L. Zh. Giuzalian have made a thorough study of the Cyclopean fortresses in the northerly and northwestern slopes of Aragats Mountain from 1930–1932. Three groups of monuments were established:

1. Small citadels located on hilltops, usually accompanied by unwalled settlements on the sides and at the foot of the hill, and dated in pre-Urartian and Urartian Periods. Bronze Age burial grounds were usually found nearby.

2. Fortresses connected with definite cuneiform inscriptions, e.g., Kolagran, Nor-Bayazet, Atamkhan.

3. Fortress type settlements, forming true cities, girded by archaic masonry walls enclosing groups of hills.

The finds shed much light upon Khaldic movements in Trans-Caucasia, and particularly in Armenia. Of particular interest were such finds as obsidian flakes and implements, bronze objects and typical pottery, all these suggesting that during the Urartian period Trans-Caucasia was a rich and flourishing area populated by ancient tribes possessed of a highly developed, ancient, and original civilization.

A new chapter in the history of the ancient Caucasus was uncovered by B. A. Kuftin's excavations in Georgia. Dzhavakhishvili and A. N. Kalantadze had obtained a variety of finds, representing a wide range of periods, at the Samtavro burial ground near Mtskheti, where they reopened work in 1938. The burials ranged from ordinary inhumations (end of second millennium B.C.), urn burials reminiscent of Palestine, and stone box burials. Pottery finds from Samtavro included low, round vessels covered with impressed geometric ornamentation and also a most interesting vessel with a bas-relief image of a serpent, which is strongly reminiscent of the "serpent houses" from Beth Shan in Palestine, and was probably intended for ritual use. Ground inhumations were characterized by bronze inventories: tweezers, rings, pins, and belts, decorated with animal effigies and geometric ornament.

Many other important Bronze Age finds have been made elsewhere in Georgia. Thus, in 1930 there were found at Gostibe in Khartlia, Sassireti near Gori, and Anaga in Kakhetia, bronze axes,

spear points, daggers, short swords, gravers, bridles, bracelets and rings, as well as small bronze animal effigies (bird figurines and the head of a goat). Many of these objects, attributed to the thirteenth century B.C., are closely related to typical Koban inventories. This establishes a close connection between the cultural and metallurgical centers of the Central Caucasus and Trans-Caucasia.

Important archaeological finds in Georgia were made in Trialeti area (Khram Valley, Tsalka *Raion*) during the 1936–1940 excavations by B. A. Kuftin. The periods represented range from the Sasanian down to the middle of the second millennium B.C., and, probably, older periods. To such earlier periods belong small flint knives and flint arrowheads. To the later period belong obsidian arrowheads of two types. A characteristic trait of this archaeological complex is the profusion of objects of obsidian and volcanic glass.

Many interesting Bronze Age finds have also been made in Tsalka *Raion*. Thus, in burials at Beshtasheni inventories resembled the finds from the lower level of the Samtavro burial ground, but were apparently much older. Bronze objects included such objects as sickles, bridle pieces with hartshorn bits, dagger blades of Kobanian type, conical helmets, narrow belts, inserted spearheads, globular maces, and a small hammer, closely related to a similar object from Khodzhaly. Many of these objects are of unmistakable Koban type; others probably come from South Caucasian industrial centers. Further finds of great antiquity and interest have been made in the tumuli; there is no doubt that these are closely connected with the "basic culture of Western Asia."

Of particular interest were such finds: a black-painted, spheroidal cup closely related to the most ancient Caucasian pottery from Kyzyl-Vank. This is also true of the large handleless vessels of hydria type decorated with a wavy-line ornament and bird effigies, which have analogies in the second Elamite type. Rich inventories and many fine samples of jewellers' art were found in the younger group of tumuli.

The following objects are typical for these burials: gold or silver drinking cup; gold fixtures from a standard; gold ornaments; large handleless clay vessels of the hydria or pithos types; urns were rarely encountered and included silver dagger blades, bronze spears, obsidian arrowpoints, and pottery decorated with the typical and yet distinctive geometric ornament.

The precious metal objects stand quite alone in form, sumptuousness, fine workmanship, very delicate chasing, filigree work and incrustation in precious stones, and are unique samples of the ancient Caucasian jewellers' art. Some of these objects are of exceptional historico-archaeological interest. Such is, for instance, a silver cup, decorated with a bas-relief representing a human figure seated on a throne attended by a single file procession of figures—doubtless a ritual scene. According to Kuftin, individual details of this scene, costumes, footwear, faces of figures, landscape, trees, and the effigies of deer, permit this object to be compared with ancient Hittite and Egyptian motifs. Kuftin further points out a connection between the Tsalka jewels and the jewelry from the ancient Sumerian cities of Ur and Uruk (beginning of third millennium B.C. or older).

Further study of the Tsalka *Raion* will shed additional light upon this complex problem. At the present time it may be stated that during the second millennium B.C. there existed in the Khram Valley in Georgia an original and highly developed ancient culture closely connected with the other ancient cultures of Asia Minor and northern Mesopotamia.

The extensive historico-archaeological work of the last twenty-five years has yielded many valuable scientific discoveries. It is no longer possible to study the monuments of Caucasian antiquity without reference to the historico-cultural development of ancient Caucasian peoples. The linguistic vestiges, peculiar word forms and strange, grammatical forms surviving in ancient Caucasian languages enable us to draw definite conclusions pertaining to a Japhetic group—or stage—in the development of a large series of languages. At the same time this material, in connection with the studies of the rich native folklore, of the strong local artistic tradition, and highly developed material culture (e.g. bronze metallurgy), enables us to attempt a comprehensive study of the culture of the ancient dwellers in the Caucasus. Finally, it becomes obvious that beginning with the third millennium B.C. the entire Caucasian cultural world was closely connected with the cultural development of ancient Oriental peoples inhabiting Asia Minor, northern Mesopotamia, Syria, Iran, and during later periods, possibly even Egypt.

Thus, it appears that the ancient Caucasus with its highly developed and original culture, was a part of a cycle of the great Oriental cultures.

BOOK REVIEWS

Ur Excavations, Vol. V: The Ziggurat and its Surroundings (Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, to Mesopotamia), by *Sir Leonard Woolley*. Pp. xiv+150, 88 pls. and charts. Oxford, University Press, 1939. $18.00

Sir Leonard Woolley's twelve campaigns of excavation at el-Muqayyar, site of ancient Ur, began in 1922 and continued without interruption until 1934. In the very year in which field work came to an end he published the two massive volumes of *The Royal Cemetery* (cf. my review, *AJA.* xxxviii, pp. 607 ff.). Five years later appeared the present volume, in an almost equally luxurious form, thanks to munificent aid from the Carnegie Corporation. Photographs are numerous and adequate, though not very good; plans are also numerous and beautifully executed. Though it is nice to have reconstructions, one cannot help feeling that Sir Leonard has slightly overdone this phase of the work, and that he might have given more plans and especially more sections showing what was actually found and fewer sketches of what the buildings may originally have been like. No general plan of the temenos is given and there are no levels in any of the plans, so orientation is difficult. However, since the present volume is devoted to the temple-tower (Accadian *ziqqurratu*, literally "peak, summit," written *zigguratu* in archaic orthography) and its immediate surroundings, whereas general accounts of the excavations have appeared in preliminary reports (mostly in *The Antiquaries Journal*), we may expect orientation in the definitive report on the excavations as a whole.

It was extremely fortunate that the Anglo-American excavations at Ur were in part contemporaneous with the German work at Warka (Erech), which began in 1928 and contined through eleven consecutive campaigns until 1939. Since the two sites are only about 65 km. apart in a straight line (though farther apart by road across the Euphrates), it was possible for the excavators to visit one another's chantiers from time to time, as well as to study preliminary reports with peculiar interest, given the similarity of contemporary ancient remains. The German undertaking, like all German excavations in Iraq, was an architects' enterprise, animated by the spirit of Robert Koldewey, one of the foremost historical architects of Germany and long director of the excavations at Babylon. In the present volume Woolley has benefited greatly by German criticism of his preliminary reports. Fortunately for students of the subject we now have a detailed criticism of the volume before us from the pen of Heinz Lenzen, who was a member of the Warka staff for eight campaigns, and who shared in several of the elaborate preliminary publications of the Warka undertaking (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 46, 1940, pp. 116–148). Our review presupposes Lenzen's criticism. In justice to the distinguished author, it must be noted that the book before us was apparently completed about 1934, since no Warka publication appearing after 1932 is utilized and since Woolley's attention was devoted almost exclusively to Syria after 1935. This fact blunts the edge of Lenzen's remark on p. 130 of his article, without in any way, of course, decreasing the value of his detailed criticism. Quite the reverse!

Chapters I and II are devoted to constructions and remains of the periods preceding the Third Dynasty of Ur, whose first king Ur-Nammu built the temple-tower and the adjoining constructions about the middle of the twenty-first century B.C. (minimal chronology, for which see *AJA.* xlvii, pp. 491 f., and *BASOR.* 88, p. 32). Since it is precisely here that the Warka parallels would have been most useful, a good many corrections or queries are in order. Four early periods of construction are distinguished: the First Dynasty (i.e., the period of Mes-anni-padda) and three older horizons, the last of which is still fairly tangible. These four periods are also called "Archaic I (First Dynasty), II, III, IV." Unfortunately, Sir Leonard does not tell us why he attributes "Archaic I" to the First Dynasty of Ur. If we refer back to *The Royal Cemetery*, pp. 208 ff. and 311 ff., we cannot help but be struck with the absence of clear evidence, since the only inscribed data relevant to chronology were found in the upper two layers of the "rubbish heap" (SIS, on which see my remarks, *AJA.* xli, pp. 497 f.), which contained objects from Frankfort's Early Dynastic III. How cautious we must be about the use of Woolley's chronological system is shown particu-

larly by H. W. Eliot's still unpublished ceramic analysis, according to which there was surprisingly little change in pottery styles between the so-called Predynastic tombs (Mes-kalam-dug, etc.) and the Sargonid graves, in spite of the interval of more than a millennium allowed for them by the excavator. In view of the average time required for ceramic changes in the ancient Near East and of the fact that the Royal Tombs are now recognized by all comparative archaeologists as belonging to the early part of Frankfort's Early Dynastic IIIB, which immediately preceded the Dynasty of Accad, we are safe in reducing Woolley's millennium to some three centuries (ca. 2500–2200, according to the minimal chronology, instead of ca. 3500–2400 with Woolley). The use of plano-convex bricks in the constructions of "Archaic I" demonstrates a date in the late Sumerian period, which may have been under the First Dynasty of Ur or under the still more obscure Second Dynasty —or under some external ruler of the same age. The date of "Archaic I" falls somewhere in or about the twenty-fifth century B.C. in any case. Only the foundations of "Archaic II" remained for the excavator, a fact which makes dating rather difficult. These foundations were constructed of plano-convex bricks mixed with the older flat-topped type. The excavations of the Oriental Institute in the Diyâlah region have shown (Delougaz, *Pre-Sargonid Temples in the Diyala Region*, 1942, pp. 118 ff.) that the lowest five temples of Sin at Khafâjeh were built of comparable flat-topped bricks, whereas the higher buildings (VI–X) were exclusively of plano-convex bricks. This situation is paralleled closely by the stratification of the smaller temples of the Diyâlah region hitherto excavated, as well as by that of Warka, etc. According to Delougaz (p. 123), the pottery and other objects from successive levels of the Sin Temple prove that Sin V was not replaced by Sin VI until after the close of the Jemdet-Naṣr period (latest phase of the "Proto-literate"), early in the following Early Dynastic I. However this may be, Frankfort and Delougaz synchronize the transition from flat-topped to plano-convex bricks roughly with the shift from Jemdet-Naṣr culture to Early Dynastic I. To judge from this mixture of types and from Woolley's emphasis on the slightness of convexity in many of the bricks of the latter category we are, accordingly, at the threshold of the plano-convex period, in the early part of Early Dynastic I—say about the twenty-ninth century B.C. in the new low chronology. The lowest two levels reached in this area, "Archaic III and IV," belong to the Jemdet-Naṣr Age, as shown by brick-work and clay-cone mosaics.

Chapters III–VI of the book are devoted to the constructional history of the minor buildings on the great terrace-platform of the temple-tower, from the Third Dynasty of Ur to the Neo-Babylonian age. The following phases can be distinguished and dated by inscriptions: Ur-Nammu (middle of the twenty-first century B.C.); Dynasty of Larsa, represented by numerous inscriptions of different kings and by three clear phases of repair or construction (nineteenth–eighteenth centuries); Kurigalzu III (so probably; see Gadd, *History and Monuments of Ur*, 1929, pp. 196 ff., on the identification of this king with the last Cossaean ruler of the name), ca. 1340–1315 B.C. (Khorsabad chronology); Adad-apla-iddinam (ca. 1063–1042 by the same chronology); Sin-balaṭsu-iqbî (ca. 650 B.C.); Nabonidus (555–538 B.C.). The longest gap in this record has now been reduced to four centuries, thanks to our new data. For competent criticism of these chapters (with many appreciative observations and parallels from Warka) see Lenzen, pp. 119–124, 134–138.

The Nanna (Nannar) Court occupies Chapters VII–X (cf. Lenzen, pp. 124–26, 138–140). Lenzen thinks that the court in question was properly the forecourt of the terrace courtyard, in the middle of which rose the temple-tower. The same phases recur as in the buildings on the terrace-platform. The Third Dynasty of Ur is represented by Shulgi and Bûr-Sin as well as by Ur-Nammu; the Neo-Babylonian age is represented by Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562) instead of by Nabonidus.

The last four chapters (XI–XIV) deal with the *ziqqurratu* itself (cf. Lenzen, pp. 126–130, 140–148), which is exceedingly interesting, not only because of its hoary antiquity but also because it is the best-preserved temple-tower yet excavated. Lenzen has some extremely important corrections of Woolley's views. He shows (p. 140) that Woolley is mistaken in supposing that the core of Ur-Nammu's structure was an older construction of the "First Dynasty" (on which see above), because the bricks in question are rectangular instead of being plano-convex, as they should have to be. He further makes it very improbable that the Babylonians were accustomed to using older temple-towers as cores of larger structures. It is true that this was the practice in Middle America, and that the Egyptian pyramids were built up in

successive shells (all in the reign of a single king or at most in two reigns), but these constructions were of stone, not of sun-dried brick. Lenzen is able to prove that the temple-towers of Warka and Nippur were built on their own foundation platforms, which extended under the entire structure. It may be added to Lenzen's observations that the Babylonian inscriptions contain many allusions to this foundation platform, the *kigallu*, which must not be confused with the terrace-platform (*temennu*) or with the terrace-filling (*tamlû*).

We congratulate the distinguished excavator and his staff on this well-executed volume, which ensures that posterity will not soon forget the great architectural achievements of the Babylonians at Ur of the Chaldees, with which Sir Leonard Woolley's name will be inextricably associated!

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Das Hauptheiligtum des Marduk in Babylon, Esagila und Etemenanki (59. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft), by *Friedrich Wetzel* and *F. H. Weissbach*. Pp. vii+88, 24 pls. and charts. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1938.

For at least 3500 years the great temple-tower of Marduk, god of Babylon, has been the center of legend and sacred story; it has come down to us under its Hebrew name, "Tower of Babel." The temple of Marduk was discovered by Koldewey in November, 1900, a year and a half after the beginning of the excavation of Babylon, but it could not be seriously examined until 1910, because of the enormous mass of debris which covered it. During the first operations an area of 40 meters square (decreasing toward the bottom) was cleared down to a depth of some 20 meters, yielding 30,000 cu. m. of earth. This work took eight months and was naturally both expensive and unproductive of objects. Thereafter the examination of Esagila (a Sumerian name meaning "House whose Top is Lofty") and its temple-tower, E-temen-anki ("House of the Terrace-platform of Heaven and Earth") was carried out by the use of shafts and tunnels, which made it difficult to obtain precise measurements or to study possible architectural phases of the structure, which was completed by Nebuchadnezzar II (604–562 B.C.). Work on the temple-tower itself could not be undertaken until the year 1913, since the collapse of a section of the Hindiyeh barrage on the Euphrates below the ruins lowered the water-table at Babylon four meters below its level in 1900. In this connection it may be added that the Old-Babylonian levels of the ancient site were below the water-table during most of the German excavations and that this is even truer today—a fact which explains partly why almost all the finds at Babylon reflect the Neo-Babylonian and later periods.

The center of interest in the volume before us is the account of the remains of the temple-tower and its reconstruction. The tower itself could only be examined (as described above) during a period of four months in 1913, with the use of a few workmen. Nothing can, therefore, be said as yet about its history or vicissitudes. Wetzel is inclined to think (his expression is "möglicherweise") that the core of sun-dried brick, which occupies less than half of the area of the completed structure, represents an older structure (possibly of the Hammurabi period); it should be emphasized that the practice of enclosing older temple-towers in larger restorations may easily have arisen during the second millennium, in spite of the negative evidence from Warka and Nippur in the third millennium (on which see Lenzen, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 46, 1940, pp. 140 ff.). Wetzel correctly emphasizes the fact that the preserved core may be considerably smaller than the original structure to which it belonged. Only the foundations and substructure are preserved, so all reconstructions of the superstructure are based on comparative evidence and especially on the data of the so-called Esagila tablet.

This tablet was first described by George Smith in 1876; it then disappeared until 1912, when the late Father Scheil discovered it in private hands. Since then numerous scholars have collaborated on the difficult task of interpreting the well-preserved text, written down from an older copy in the year 229 B.C. Weissbach's detailed exegesis (pp. 49–84) is exceedingly valuable, not least because he was the soundest student of Babylonian metrology in Germany. We now have a valuable further contribution to the interpretation of the tablet by one of Landsberger's ablest pupils, whose "Aryan" blood has saved him from his great teacher's fate: W. von Soden, *GGA*. 200, 1938, pp. 516–26, and *ZfA*. 45, 1939, pp. 78–81. Early inadequate interpretations of the text were responsible for Koldewey's extraordinary reconstruction of the temple-tower as virtually a massive cube (of brick!), over 300 feet high. Against this architectural monstrosity (which would have collapsed

within a year or two, according to all analogy) other historical architects promptly protested, following the lead of Dombart. For some fifteen years even as great an authority as Andrae followed his teacher, until Weissbach's publication of an improved interpretation of the tablet in 1931 brought with it Andrae's conversion to the opposing position in 1932. Wetzel follows Weissbach and Andrae in his reconstruction (note von Soden's modifications, *GGA*, 1938, pp. 522 f.).

The book is a model of scientific precision; text, plans and photographs are of equal excellence. We congratulate the surviving members of the Babylon Expedition on another important step toward the goal of publication.

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THE LADDER OF PROGRESS IN PALESTINE. A STORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL ADVENTURE, by *Chester Charlton McCown*. Pp. xiii+387, 59 ill. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1943. $3.50

"The purpose of this volume is to describe the methods and results of typical and important excavations so as to give an intelligent but non-technical reader some appreciation of how the archaeologist works and what he discovers." The author has certainly succeeded in his task, because his style is lucid and vivid and he understands excellently how to make "dry facts" interesting. The first chapter, for example, in which he describes "how excavations are carried on," or the story of the expedition of Captain Parker in Jerusalem, are models of good popularizing. Also his concluding statement that archaeological studies prove that man has made progress since the beginning of civilization is very opportune in an age in which the idea of progress is often ridiculed. Very occasionally only the reviewer wonders whether the "non-technical reader" would not appreciate some explanation of names such as the Argive Heraeum, the Hyksos, or Estrangelo Syriac.

The reviewer would like to go farther than the expressed purpose of the book and recommend it to every archaeologist who is not an expert in Palestinian archaeology. It contains a very reliable and detailed history of excavations in Palestine and reports succinctly the results from prehistoric times to the period of the Crusaders. Especially valuable and full of good advice about further studies are the chapters about the times after the Exile which have recently lacked the interest shown in earlier periods. A bibliography of thirteen pages is very helpful. A minor slip on p. 121 should be corrected: the red-figured vase from Gerar belongs to the last third of the fifth century, not to the third century, as pointed out by Galling in *ZDPV*. lii, 1929, p. 244, not liv, 1931.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE VALENTINE MÜLLER

NUZI. REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT YORGAN TEPA NEAR KIRKUK, IRAQ, CONDUCTED BY HARVARD UNIVERSITY IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH AND THE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF PHILADELPHIA, 1927–1931, by *Richard F. S. Starr*, with appendices by *Ruth Sears Chute, Robert W. Ehrich, H. W. Eliot, Rutherford J. Gettens*, and *Ernest R. Lacheman*. Vol. I, Text, pp. xxxviii+615. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1939. $5.00.

The appearance of the volume of plates (II) in 1937 (see the reviewer's observations, *AJA*. xliii, p. 159) was followed two years later by the publication of the text volume, which comes fully up to our expectations. The physical format of the volume is adequate and the price is remarkably low; one might wish, however, that the 500 pages of the principal contribution, by Dr. Starr, had been compressed into 300 by using 10 point instead of 12 point, by widening the printed page from five to six inches or more and employing two columns instead of one (the resulting reduction of margins would be all to the good). Incidentally, the quality of paper used in this volume might then have been improved considerably without increasing the cost.

Dr. Starr carried out the excavation of the mud-brick constructions on the mound in exemplary fashion; his method in tracing walls is described in an interesting article which appeared in *BASOR*. 58 (April, 1935). The description of details of construction and excavation, as well as of the objects found and the circumstances of their discovery is distinctly above the average, and gives the Nuzi publication exceptional value for future students of Mesopotamian archaeology.

The publication of the early levels, usually designated as pre-Nuzian, because they antedated the foundation of the Hurrian town of Nuzu (Nuzi), is mainly due to the patient tenacity of Mr. H. W. Eliot, whose knowledge of the comparative archaeology of early Mesopotamia is excelled by very few. Eliot collaborated with Starr especially in the preparation of the first two chap-

ters and wrote Appendices A (Chronology) and H (Kudish Ṣaghîr). Eliot's collaboration has greatly increased the value of this part of the publication, since our knowledge of the levels antedating the Dynasty of Accad comes exclusively from two pits sunk to bed-rock at Yorghan Tepe and a number of trenches in the neighboring site of Kudish Ṣaghîr, where the natives had already disturbed the ground. Though pottery of different types was found, stratigraphical conclusions could not be drawn from them, in the absence of adequate material from other sites for comparison. Most of the decorated ware is incised, but several score of painted sherds were found in apparent association with the former (II, pls. 47–48). Eliot points out (I, p. 508) that the closest resemblance to the Kudish painted ware yet available is Gawra XVII–XIX, which is Obeidian; other Obeidian analogies are pointed out on pp. 508 f. and 615 f. Some of the sherds can scarcely be anything but Halafian, but we must probably regard them as intrusive. Sporadic Samarran affinities may be discounted after the keen analysis of the Baghûz pottery by R. J. Braidwood, Ann Perkins, and their colleagues (*JNES.* III, 1944, pp. 48 ff.), who have corrected numerous errors of their precursors and have demonstrated (pp. 65 ff.) that Samarran ware is earlier than Halafian, belonging between Ḥalâf itself and Nineveh I. It is now quite certain that Samarran pottery had a wide extension and there is no reason to suppose that it is a local or intrusive style; it has been found in quantity not only at Samarra on the lower Tigris and at Baghûz on the Middle Euphrates, but also at several sites in the Nineveh area, as well as at Khazneh Tepe south at Kerkûk in the East-Tigris country (not the same as Khazneh Tepe near Susa), where I collected it in 1925 (cf. *JAOS.* 46, p. 228).

The incised pottery from Yorghan Tepe XII–XA and Kudish Ṣaghîr is difficult to classify, especially if it is really contemporary with the painted sherds from the same strata. Eliot has called attention to certain similarities between it and incised sherds from the lowest deposits of Nineveh I. Should this be correct, we should have to separate the incised ware of our site from the painted ware by the whole extension of Halafian and Samarran (which does not appear at Nineveh until II B). Moreover, I note rather striking resemblances between the incised ware from our site and incised sherds in my collection from Khazneh Tepe south of Kerkûk, found on the surface with painted sherds of Samarran affinities (see above). An obvious explanation of this situation is that the incised ware is pre-Samarran, whereas the painted ware is in the main post-Halafian. But an obvious explanation is not necessarily a correct one, in the present embryonic state of this particular branch of archaeology. It clashes squarely with Starr's own statement (p. 10) that the painted pottery descreased proportionately in the upper levels of Kudish Ṣaghîr. We must, therefore, be content for the present with an *impasse*.

Levels X–VI of Yorghan Tepe cover the period between the Obeidian and the Dynasty of Accad. Eliot has found some Obeidian and Warkan characters in X and Warkan and Jemdet-Naṣr correlations in IX–VII (p. 512); level VI already belongs to the same cultural horizon as the Dynasty of Accad. In V and IV were found more than 200 cuneiform tablets from the Dynasty of Accad, admirably published by T. J. Meek in 1935; their presence in these two levels (which are stratigraphically homogeneous) makes a date in the twenty-third century B.C. (minimum chronology) quite certain. The reduction of two centuries below Eliot's date on p. 520 is due to the conclusive evidence of the Mari Tablets and the Khorsabad List (on which see *AJA.* XLVII, pp. 491 f.; *BASOR.* 88, p. 32). Though a few of these same tablets were found in the west corner of III (Starr, p. 25), one may suspect that the locus in question should have been attributed rather to level IV. Between III and II, which is dated to the fifteenth century by many typically Nuzian tablets, there was in the main pit, L4, a deposit of over two meters of mixed debris, containing mostly objects from the Dynasty of Accad or from the Nuzian occupation. However, Starr is clearly right in insisting that there was a considerable amount of intervening occupation. Several Old-Assyrian letters were found (Meek, nos. 223–7), identical in language and script with the so-called Cappadocian tablets; one of them refers twice to the town of Ar(r)apkha (Kerkûk) near Yorghan Tepe. The new low chronology fixes the date of these documents between ca. 1850 and 1775 B.C. Another tablet is a characteristic document from the Third Dynasty of Ur, and must accordingly be dated between ca. 2050 and 1950 B.C. One may probably suppose that L4, which was sunk at one of the highest points reached by bed-rock on the site, contains fewer traces of the post-Accad occupation than might have been expected. In any case, we may safely attribute the thick layer of debris under-

lying the Hurrian town to the immediately preceding period, and assume that it was due to the same catastrophe which put an end to the Old-Assyrian commercial empire.

The Hurrian town which crowned the summit of the mound (levels II–I) was completely excavated, and two villas which lay some 300 m. north of the north corner of the town were also cleared. Some 4000 tablets were brought to light, 3000 in the mound and 1000 in the villa of Tekhip-Tilla; their contents are briefly described by E. R. Lacheman on pp. 528–544, with a great deal of matter from unpublished documents. In this connection it may be observed that Chiera and Speiser, together with their pupils, have published and translated over a third of these documents, and that our knowledge of Nuzian customary law and business procedure is now unusually good. These documents are on a par with the Old-Babylonian documents and greatly surpass the Middle-Babylonian and Middle-Assyrian documents in their value for the historian of culture. Thanks to the magnificent publication of *Nuzi Personal Names* (1943), by Gelb, Purves and MacRae, we now have a solid basis for study of the linguistic constitution of the East-Tigris region in the fifteenth century B.C. The date is fixed by the discovery of the name of Saushshattar, king of Mitanni, on a letter from level II (Starr, p. 520, n. 8). Now Saushshattar has become much better known, thanks to Sir Leonard Woolley's discoveries at Alalakh in northern Syria; he is to be dated ca. 1450–1425 B.C., with some likelihood that the date of his accession may have to be raised. Moreover, a recently published tablet refers to the death of king Shurattarna (cf. Oppenheim, *BASOR.* 93, p. 16), who is probably Shuttarna I, the precursor of Saushshattar whose seal appears in the Alalakh tablets. Four generations of active citizens figure in the documents (Purves, *AJSL.* lvii, p. 163), which therefore cover about 75 years, possibly somewhat more (but scarcely a century and a half, as suggested by Purves). Nuzu (Nuzi) was finally destroyed by the Assyrians, probably under Asshur-bêl-nishêshu (ca. 1416–1408) or one of his immedate successors). It follows that the *floruit* of Nuzu must cover almost the entire fifteenth century, thus forming an extremely valuable chronological bridge between the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon (ca. 1830–1550) and the Amarna Age. (ca. 1400–1360). The pottery and other objects from our uppermost floor-levels are, accordingly, dated with a small margin of error to the second half of the fifteenth century. For ceramic chronology, comparative architecture, and especially for glyptic art the extensive, well-dated material from Nuzu will become more and more significant as time passes. With respect to seals alone, the impressions on the tablets of Nuzu, to be published soon by Miss Porada and others, are of the utmost value for the historian of ancient Near-Eastern art, especially when we remember that the overwhelming majority of them date from before ca. 1425 B.C. (note that seals might pass from father to son, Purves, *AJSL.* lvii, p. 164).

In conclusion, we congratulate the excavators and collaborators in this undertaking on the completion of an exceedingly important task.

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Mediterranean Culture, by *John L. Myres.* Pp. 52. The Frazer Lecture, 1943, Cambridge University Press, 1943. 2 sh.

To anyone who has encountered that bearded adventurer of the Mediterranean, J. L. Myres, this little essay on the geographical history of his happy hunting ground will be already familiar. In his naval ramblings of the last war he penetrated many hidden coves and unknown communities in the eastern Mediterranean and therefore can guide us over the whole sea and its coast-lands, moving with astonishing speed across barriers both temporal and spatial. This amazing cruising-power is the virtue of the essay; for few scholars have seen the wide-flung area whole, and certainly not on such nimble wings. Indeed, this survey should be placed beside that of Aeschylus' *Prometheus,* that we may appreciate the transformations and the permanence of Mediterranean geography and culture in 2400 years.

Professor Myres skilfully turns his thesis as a tribute to Frazer, the explorer of Greek sites, "a sympathetic observer of those beliefs and customs which lay nearest to the soil." He deals with the "little men" of the Midland sea, their mode of life, not only its political superstructures, but its fundamental uniform economic substructure. His underlying theme is that Mediterranean man, be he Greek or Jew, Phoenician or Arab, Turk or Minoan, "maintained and maintains himself in small, almost self-sufficient economic groups, essentially engaged in a multiple food-quest—corn, wine, oil—to which flocks and herds are subsidiary. Material amenities are supplied through

bazaar-cities, needs of the soul through sanctuaries, needs of the exceptional or superfluous man by adventure. These primary communities were brought into a single maritime association through navigation, which also offered relief from overcrowding, and assisted the propagation of a few highly specialized types of society—Greek, Phoenician, Etruscan—which "*all failed to assimilate the primary economies among which they came.*" Wherever regions disorganized by intrusions from grasslands or mountain-zones remain inhabited, the primary economic groups persist and reappear. Myres therefore infers that all political superstructures depend for their vitality on these economic foundations. For examples, he recurs often to Crete, Sicily, Rhodes, and Cyprus as the most conservative and in many ways typical regions. He feels that their mode of life and outlook will endure, whatever peoples penetrate or states rise and fall, like the Golden Bough, "*uno avulso, non deficit alter aureus.*"

The most interesting idea, then, in this essay is that this fundamental Mediterranean mode of life expresses itself not in the great urban center—the *polis* or the *municipium*—but in the demes or loose nuclei of peasant dwellings. "All higher forms of political structure within the Mediterranean world have tested, rather than demonstrated, the competence of the Mediterranean peoples for self-government." In tracing the history of the attempt, Myres reaches the unorthodox conclusion that the Turks formed "the only Mediterranean state which has won through yet." He grants them the success that he denies the Greek city-state (because of its inability to assimilate others to its integrity), or even Rome (which he admits achieved at least partial efficiency by incorporating into its system the primary societies that underlay it). This conclusion is perhaps due to the fact that the author is a modern Englishman. Would a Mediterranean of any period differentiate so sharply between the κώμη and the πόλις? Is there fundamentally any feeling in the whole Mediterranean area for the homestead—the farm isolated among its fields? Is the farmer of the Mediterranean not also a townsman—a citizen whose heart is in his little center—be it Priene or Thebes, whence he goes forth to his fields only to return to parade, gossip, and argue on days of festival? Collingwood's illuminating analysis of the difference in point of view between the Briton and the Roman as exemplified by their two economic systems existing side by side suggests that to a Northerner town and country folk are more contrasted and the dependence of city on rural areas more emphasized than ever in the Mediterranean. Likewise, our ideas of self-government, though derived from the Greek, scarcely should be exacted of the Mediterranean (or indeed of other parts of the world). These questions and many others, aroused by this short essay are but indications of the amount of material, as well as of range of vision in this stimulating essay.

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MYTH AND SOCIETY IN ATTIC DRAMA, by *Alan M. G. Little*. Pp. xi+95. Ill. 14. Columbia University Press, New York, 1942. $1.50.

The author, Assistant Professor of Greek at Hobart College, has attempted to define the relationship between the mythological content of the Attic Drama and contemporary Attic society. He has studied all the plays in chronological order, as one ought to do, and has used the results of recent archaeological studies, as one also ought to do, though not all Professors of Greek and Latin are doing this. The strangeness of plots and ethical principles led him to the belief that we have not yet grasped the deepest sense of the drama. He believes that he has found the explanation in the fact that drama was a reflection of changing society and changing psychology. During the period beginning with Aeschylus and his older contemporaries and ending with Euripides, society passed from tribal organization with responsibility to the group to political organization with individual equality before the law. Primitive subconscious thinking and methods of expression developed to logical thought and the conscious use of abstract speech.

In Chapter I, Little develops the idea that mythology is primitive expression of thought. The purely literary study of drama must be supplemented by the sociological study of the evolution of the social organism to which it belonged. The mythological form of primitive thought hides social conflicts. The rise of the drama was part of the passage from tribal culture to political city life. Epic was the art used by the tribal chieftains, who believed Achilles and other heroes to be their ancestors, a belief which the excavations at Troy, Mycenae and Tiryns have proved to be true. Lyric was the art used by the aristocracy of the seventh century to enhance their prestige. Drama was used by the tyrants of the sixth century to appease their

adversaries. Peisistratos and Kleisthenes united the ten Attic tribes in peaceful competition at the great City Dionysia, and in the fifth century tragedy developed from Aeschylus to Euripides with changing reflections of a changing society. Human thought as reflected in their tragedies developed in Aeschylus from symbolic thoughts reflecting a vigorous and united society, to the realistic characters with their logical and organized thinking, but reflecting a dislocated society, in Euripides. The same mythology was used in all cases. Then comedy broke away from mythology, parodied it and in the late fifth century became the true exponent of democracy.

The chapters following bring a more detailed consideration of the forms of Attic drama as a reflection of Attic society. Chapter II, *Attic Drama and Society*, gives a short sketch of the development of Greek drama, not from a literary point of view (as our oldest informant Aristotle does), but as a reflection of the society which produced the different types of drama: the aristocratic tragedy, the democratic and later also bourgeois comedy and the popular mime. Attic drama developed from the survival of an early society and its rituals. When in 534 B.C. Peisistratos made it part of the city-state festival, the divorce of drama from religion, and its secularization, began. The festival with the competition of the ten tribes helped to consolidate the union of the Attic state into a political and social unity. The new society is reflected in the plays not directly, but in symbolic and disguised form.

In Chapter III, *Primitive Aftermath*, is described the conflict of principles inherited from the tribal and aristocratic society with those of a democratic city-state, as expressed in all the surviving dramas of Aeschylus. In the *Suppliants* (492) the social content is the change from older codes of marriage to new laws. In the *Seven Against Thebes*, the vendetta arising from generations of family troubles is sacrificed to the interests of the city-state by the voluntary death of Eteocles. In the *Prometheus*, the Titan helps mankind against the arbitrary tribal god Zeus, but in the end they are reconciled and Zeus emerges as the god of the new social order. In the *Oresteia*, Apollo represents the enlightened religious conscience, Athena Attic law, the chorus Attic public opinion, and the Furies "the curse which descends on whoever infringes tribal law" (p. 30), but they change in the last play of the trilogy into the Eumenides, from avenging spirits of tribal society to benign protectors of a democratic people (p. 40). Even in Sophocles, though he belongs to the period of balanced democracy, there is still found some aftermath of tribal subconscious thought in Ajax, who commits suicide according to a tribal code, like a Japanese or Polynesian; and in Antigone, who lays down her life as the defender of a burial ceremonial which society had outgrown.

Chapter IV, *Democratic Society*, treats Aristophanes and Euripides as facets of the same society. Comedy was for a long time considered vulgar and found only late public recognition. But during the Peloponnesian war the social function of comedy in the democratic state became the same as that of tragedy, the need of criticism, no longer of the aristocracy, but of the people and its leaders. Comedy was less bound by conventions than tragedy. For tragedy, mythology was its very essence. For comedy it became a source of parody. On the other hand, the traditional chorus is more important for expressing conflicts than it is in Euripides. Its subject matter is realistic. For Euripides' tragedies the chorus is an inconvenient legacy, and mythology a storehouse of sensational plots. His tragedies reflect three different periods. The first is the period before the Peloponnesian war, when he took part in the social revolution and was interested in the position of women in democratic Athens (*Medea*, *Alcestis*). The second is the first ten years of the war, which gave an embittered note to his dramas (*Hippolytus*, *Hecuba*, *Heraklidae*, *Mad Herakles*). The last ten years show increased violence (*Troades*, *Phoenissae*, *Bacchae*) alternating with escapism (*Alexander*, *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, *Helen*, *Andromeda*). Euripides shows the "conflict of the human soul in the shattered ruins of a society" (p. 58.)

Chapter V, *Bourgeois Society*, shows how in the Hellenistic period New Comedy is the expression of an educated and standardized class, which has become the patron of the drama. Athens is now—like Paris before the war—the city of pleasure and education. Therefore the New Comedy lays the scene always in Athens and the characters are taken from the wealthy upperclass society, including their slaves and courtesans. The subject matter is bourgeois romance. The drama gets closer and closer to everyday life. This is particularly true of the mime, which reflects popular life with its raw and more vigorous sides as opposed to the narrowing circle of bourgeois interest.

The last chapter, *Spectator and Thought*, describes spectacle, i.e. production, as an essential

part of the psychological effect. Costume, mask and decoration are the symbolic link between the life of the actors and audience. Thus, in the archaic and early classical periods (534–465) from Peisistratos to Kimon or from Thespis to Aeschylus, the ceremonial costume, the Persian tiara as the symbol of royalty, the movements of the chorus in the wide orchestra have a complex meaning like that of primitive speech. In the classical period of Pericles and the Peloponnesian war (465–404), of Sophocles and Euripides, an experimental background is developed, scene painting begins to give illusion in harmony with the clear language of a more sophisticated age. In the Hellenistic Age the background building is a bourgeois house, the costume that of everyday life and all symbolism disappears.

Short notes, pp. 81–85, a selected bibliography, pp. 87–88, and an index, pp. 89–95, add to the usefulness of this well-written book. It is a satisfaction to the reviewer that the new light thrown by modern sociology and psychology on the Greek theater has in no way altered the picture drawn of its development in her *History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 1939. This book as well as the works of Fiechter, Bulle and others have been used for the modest line drawings copied from better illustrations, with which Little illustrates his book. It is interesting to see how he uses the figures on pp. 14 and 20 to illustrate symbolically how the stage began to shut out the temple of the god in the process of secularization. But here, as in the figures on pp. 29, 32, and 47, Little does not realize that Fiechter's and Bulle's reconstructions of the background buildings resemble the contemporary entrance halls to the Acropolis simply because these reconstructions are naturally based on surviving monuments.

Only one error was noticed. *Königlich sächsisch* must be abbreviated *Kgl. sächs.* (not *Kön. Sachs.*). There is hardly anything else to correct in the book.

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SMALL OBJECTS FROM THE PNYX: I, by *Gladys R. Davidson* and *Dorothy Burr Thompson*. *Hesperia*, Supplement VII. Pp. vi+172. American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1943. $5.00.

This volume is the result of a decision to make available as soon as possible the small objects from the Pnyx that had been allowed to accumulate from season to season, since the American School at Athens and the Greek Department of Antiquities began their excavations on the Pnyx in 1931. Studies of other classes of objects are promised for future numbers of *Hesperia*. In the present supplement, the section on figurines is by Mrs. Thompson and the other sections are by Miss Davidson. Each section consists of a catalogue of the objects, preceded by some discussion of each class as a whole. At the end there are careful indices, the last page of which was unfortunately reversed in binding, at least in this reviewer's copy.

The inscriptions of Section I, mostly *horos* stones, and honorary and tomb inscriptions, are all fragmentary. No. 1, a mortgage pillar of the fourth century B.C., is a type known in only one other example. No. 17, a fragment of a lead plaque, is interesting and perhaps unique. It appears to be a letter about a financial transaction from a certain Arignotos to a Gnathios. Section II deals with some dikasts' name plates, and Section III catalogues a hoard of Greek coins from the early first century B.C. A few lead weights, some official and some for household use, are dealt with in Section IV, and graffiti and dipinti in Section V. These sections, together with Section VII, on lamps, IX, on spindle whorls, X, on implements, fittings, and moulds, XI, on jewelry, and XIV, on glass, present material which has no great intrinsic interest, but which does add something to the sum total of the evidence about the several types of objects in question as they were used in Athens during the periods represented.

The seal impressions of lead and terracotta catalogued in Section XII throw no further light on the function of such objects, though the author gives a useful summary of the possible uses to which they might have been put. Section XIII deals with a half dozen votive objects (if a bone "doll" is necessarily that), the most interesting of which is a terracotta pyramid, explained by the author as a representation of a cake for votive purposes, the πυραμίς referred to by ancient authors, the significance of which is as yet undetermined.

In Section VIII there is a thorough and illuminating discussion of loomweights, and their use in connection with the vertical type of loom on which they must have been employed. Their method of manufacture is explained, and the characteristics and development of the pyramidal and conical types discussed in the light of those found on the Pnyx and elsewhere. A study of the stamps of the pyramidal variety brings forth the suggestion that these were used to indicate the sets in which the weights were sold.

The sculpture of Section VI, ranging in date from the fourth century B.C. to the Roman period, is not particularly rewarding: No. 1, a fragmentary head of the fourth century B.C., and No. 3, a woman's head of a familiar early Hellenistic type, are perhaps the best in quality. The latter is unfinished, as are three other pieces, and they, with a poros statuette that may have been a model, suggest that a sculptor's workshop was located somewhere near the Pnyx.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the objects found are the figurines, mostly of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C., which receive a satisfyingly full discussion. Additional evidence is offered for the figurines with jointed limbs, often called "dolls," all of which are either nude female figures, or dancers and other such types belonging to the world of entertainment. With regard to Mrs. Thompson's suggestion that the fragility of such objects is an argument against their having been used as playthings, one can only recall that terracotta was probably far tougher in resisting the enthusiastic play of the children of antiquity than were the china and wax of our great-grandmothers' dolls. It is noted that all the examples from the Pnyx, and many others, have suspension holes in the tops of their heads. Parenthetically, at least two of the examples from Seleucia, one a nude female figure with articulated arms and the other a grotesque dwarf with movable arms and phallos, show no signs of such suspension holes. This, however, need not affect the argument, nor the conclusion to which the increasing amount of evidence from various sites has been pointing, that these articulated figures were not puppets nor intended solely for amusement, but that in their movability they had an apotropaic value. While with a few exceptions the figurines are of dubious aesthetic merit, they show parallels with contemporary sculpture and help to round out the picture of changing sculptural style in ancient Athens.

In this last section, as in the others, connections with similar objects from other sites, and with related material of various sorts, are carefully pointed out, and the detailed discussions give the volume a value far beyond that of a mere catalogue. The format is excellent, and wartime difficulties appear to have had little effect on the quality of the paper, the typography, or the quality of the illustrations.

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THE POLITICAL MEETING PLACES OF THE GREEKS, by *William A. McDonald*. The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology; No. 34. Pp. xix+308, pls. xix, figs. 31. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1943. $5.00.

This ambitious study discusses not only the roofed buildings that have been identified as assembly or council halls, but even open-air auditoria. It covers a wide geographical area, including Asia Minor as well as most of Greece proper and the islands. It also covers a wide period, from the sixth century B.C. to the second centry A.D. Although it does not claim to include every building of this type, certainly it gathers together the chief examples and thus presents a body of first-hand material from which Greek civic architectural practice can at last be studied. In view of the desirability of having all important material on hand for such a purpose, it is a pity that the author could not have covered all Greek lands. No doubt practical reasons made this impossible, but ideally, the Minoan material, irrelevant as the author admits it probably is, should have been eliminated or much reduced to make room for the purely Greek material. Clearer definition of the temporal limits also would have brought the subject into sharper focus.

The subject is arranged, apparently, much in the manner that it was studied: the first two chapters cover Minoan and "Homeric" Greece by combining literary and archaeological evidence regarding the Council and Assembly (ἀγορή). This method is, however, abandoned in the following chapters. One deals with the city assemblies in "Post-Homeric times," giving first literary and epigraphical evidence and then the archaeological description. A chapter follows on the Federal Leagues, which is based on the written work alone; and the next covers the city councils, again treated from the literary and archaeological points of view, as McDonald's notes were doubtless compiled. A final chapter compares the buildings and draws certain cautious and sound conclusions.

For the ordinary reader, who does not intend to absorb the whole book, its organization is not very convenient. The historian or the excavator goes to such a book almost as to an encyclopaedia, for reference. For that purpose clarity and usefulness would have been much enhanced by the fusion of literary, epigraphical, and architectural matter to form a coherent picture of each individual structure. As we read through a long section on literary evidence, we are often piqued by the accounts, but

by the time we reach the descriptions we have forgotten the ancient references. Or if we break off reading consecutively to trace down all the material on one building, we must journey to and fro throughout the book. Despite good cross-references, we inevitably find this method confusing. Likewise our minds are discomforted by the shift between the political intricacies of the Leagues in Chapter v to the actual measurements or profiles of seats in a given building. We should prefer, therefore, to have all the available evidence in one place, so that we could weigh word against fact, thereby deriving a crisper conception of a particular building. Again, many of the details in the last chapter of comparisons and conclusions would have been more happily encountered in the earlier chapters, for example the suggested restorations of the seating arrangements of the Bouleuterion at Olympia and of the famous "Phocicon." Then the discussion of Vitruvius' analysis of the Bouleuterion type in relation to the known material would have been briefer and more effective because the evidence would already have been mastered.

The best part of the book is certainly the archaeological section. Here the author has made a real contribution in his compact, well-digested, and often primary accounts of the meeting-places themselves. His ability to present the vital material with useful plans, as well as his good judgment in interpreting them are highly to be commended. He has, however, written more than a catalogue and has made several personal contributions to the subject. Even when the building had previously been published, he does not rehash, but carefully reconsiders the material. His account of the Pnyx, for instance, not only incorporates the vital revision of the date of the third Assembly Place, which the excavator now places in the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., but also Dinsmoor's location of the early bema, which the author argues to be plausible. Most conscientiously and competently also does McDonald work through all the reviews or comments on the Agora excavations, weighing them, arguing with impartiality and caution so that his accounts are actually the most up-to-date now available on the Bouleuteria and Metroon. In this connection it is curious that he does not mention in his Appendix I, "Small Rock-cut Seating Arrangements," the benches set into the lower slope of Kolonos Agoraios behind the temples of Apollo and the Mother. The excavator dates them about the middle of the fifth century B.C. (*Hesperia* vi, 1937, pp. 218 f.; fig. 126), that is before the new Bouleuterion, which was not built till near the end of that century. In view of the not infrequent use of open-air seats for political meetings, it might pe possible that these benches served a purpose later filled by the new Bouleuterion. In any case, the probability is that in Athens the use was political. It is interesting also to note that the old Bouleuterion in its earlier (presumably rectangular) arrangement of seats closely resembles the later Ionian examples at Heraclea, Priene, and Notium. McDonald rejects as improbable the inevitable suggestion that the Athenian building influenced the Ionian. But might the influence not work the other way—from a (now lost) original at Miletus, whence so many Ionians came to late sixth-century Athens? And likewise, the resemblance between the New Bouleuterion at Athens and those of Miletus and Assos might also reflect the influence, again apparent in Athens toward the close of the fifth century, of Ionia. Certainly Miletus had a bouleuterion or bouleuteria before the surviving example of the second century B.C. and historical probability implies that it would have been the model rather than the copy. Hippodamus may well have brought more than a city plan when he travelled to Attica. Indeed, this book is full of tantalizing implications as to the relations between cities and architects. But we need more such compendious treatises—and more excavation—before we can begin seriously to consider these problems.

McDonald's survey of the Bouleuterion type, based on Vitruvius v, 2, shows three solutions—the narrow, the (approximately) square, and the broad. His synthesis shows clearly that the narrow form is more popular early and yields to the theater type by the second century B.C. To us, a long narrow building seems a strange, even stupid, shape for an assembly hall. McDonald does much for our understanding of the form and the reasons for its use into a period when the Greeks might have been expected to do better. Probably we are all too prone to study the finest Greek architecture and to overlook the essential simplicity of the ordinary Greek building, which was usually some form of stoa—easy to cover as McDonald points out, by a pitch-roof of fairly light timbers. By varying walls or colonnades, the stoa could be adjusted even to the demands of a crowd, seating them easily, if not ideally, in the two aisles beside a row of central supports. Clearly, then, the law-courts of antiquity, particularly of Athens, hitherto unidentified, may have escaped us because of

our mistaken assumptions as to their probable plan. This is but another of the many ideas that McDonald's book inspires. We must hope that he will develop them in a more mature work. In this preliminary study he has rightly avoided speculation and concentrated on amassing, through hard travel and hard work, enough examples upon which scholars can work. By considering the morphology of one characteristic Greek building, he has shown how little we really know about civic architecture and how remunerative further study could be.

In view of the fundamental nature of the study, its documentation had to be full. Measurements, descriptions, tables, and index are all adequate for the purpose of the book. Also praiseworthy was the attempt to photograph unpublished or poorly illustrated buildings, many of which lie in inaccessible parts of Asia Minor, such as Heraclea and Nysa. McDonald braved fevers and even police to get these pictures for scholars of less tough physique and heart. He must himself have felt, therefore, the deepest humiliation in regard to the treatment that his pictures received at the hands of the Johns Hopkins Press. War conditions cannot excuse the black blurs to which McDonald's excellent photographs were reduced, for similar crimes have been committed in this same series before the war. It is surely time for a press that issues so many useful books on archaeological topics to eliminate such atrocious pictures, especially when it is capable, as recent publications of Olynthus show, of doing at least somewhat better.

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO D. B. THOMPSON

FROM TRIPOLI TO MARRAKESH, by *Kate McK. Elderkin*. Pp. 303, 137 reproductions from photographs by the author. The Pond-Ekberg Company, Springfield, Mass., 1944. $3.75

The ancient monuments of Northern Africa are far less well known than they deserve, in spite of the fact that many of them are in a better state of preservation than those in other parts of the ancient world. It is, therefore, very gratifying to have a good number of photographs taken by an expert archaeologist. Mrs. Elderkin knows ancient architecture too well to indulge in the distorted views of which many modern photographers are so fond. She wants to give a faithful picture of the monuments in the manner in which the ancients themselves looked at them and not to hunt for extravagant views which may please modern taste moulded by expressionism, surrealism, etc. It is a relief to see Roman art again in its real grandeur and monumentality. Most of the photos show architectural monuments, but some sculptures, reliefs and mosaics are also included, and views of modern towns and of Islamic monuments make a pleasant supplement.

The text is a happy combination of diary and archaeological description. It is not intended as a "guide," but some hints about roads are included. The style is so vivid and unsophisticated, the descriptions of monuments and country are so clear, yet so precise and illuminating, that it gives the reader great pleasure to follow the author on her trip which included the most important places from Tripoli to Morocco.

The book is not designed for the expert, according to the Preface, yet it will be read by archaeologists with great profit. In the first place, it contains a number of descriptions of colors which do not appear in our reproductions, and secondly the author has a number of suggestions about monuments which are all stimulating, although it is inevitable that not all of them will be accepted. The reviewer may be allowed to mention some of them. It is said of the semicircular colonnade in the temples of Caelestis at Thuburbo Maius and Dougga (pp. 58, 64) that they suggest the association of the goddess with the crescent moon; but what about the semicircular courtyard of the sanctuary of Aesculapius at Lambesis (p. 93)? The temple at Paphos had such a semicircular courtyard according to coins which is, however, in front of the temple (Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art* iii, p. 266). It seems to this reviewer impossible to consider the Eros from Mahdia even "perhaps" a replica of one by Praxiteles (cf. the better dating by Studniczka in *Abh. Phil.-hist. Kl. Saechs. Ak.* 37, 1926, p. 70). Arguments would be welcome as to why fig. 52a suggests Alexandrian work of the second century B.C. Since two maps (of Timgad and Djemila) are reproduced in the text, why not some more? Some of the reproductions have apparently suffered from war-time paper, a fact which, however, does not diminish the value of this enjoyable and useful book.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE VALENTINE MÜLLER

CORPUS VASORUM ANTIQUORUM, U. S. A. Fascicule 9 (Metropolitan Museum of Art 1, Arretine Relief Ware), by *Christine Alexander*. Pp. 28, pls. xlviii. Harvard University Press, 1943. $5.00.

Little by little the collections of *sigillata* in Europe and America are receiving the prominence they deserve. Miss Alexander's contribution

is one of the most significant, both because of the intrinsic importance of the Metropolitan Museum's collection and because of Miss Alexander's own exceptionally high standard of treatment.

The material consists of six clay dies for impression into moulds (pl. I); twenty-one complete moulds (sixteen from the shops of the Perennii, pls. II–XXVIII; two from the shop of Rasinius, pls. XXXI–XXXII; one by Eros C. Anni, pl. XXXIV; two from the shop of P. Cornelius, pls. XXXV–XXXVI; nine fragmentary moulds, mostly Perennian (pls. XXXIX–XL); nine virtually complete decorated cups or bowls, mostly Perennian; fifty-four decorated fragments from various shops, acquired with the Gréau Collection by the gift of J. P. Morgan (pls. XLI–XLVII); six decorated rims of plates from the same source; and six "trial pieces or unfinished vases" recently presented by Piero Tozzi (pl. XLVIII). This fascicule is on the "must list."

Mr. Milla of the Museum staff receives well deserved appreciation for his ingenuity in solving the difficult technical problem of lighting and photographing the interiors of the moulds themselves, without loss of the delicate contours, rather than photographing plaster casts of the moulds as has been done by Dragendorff, Chase and others. Indeed, the excellence as well as the lavish number of photographs is one of the fascicule's most conspicuous characteristics. Some of the individual figures are given additional illustration in double size, a tribute to the skills of both Mr. Milla and of the original artists whose products are amenable to such effective detailed enlargement. Miss Alexander has introduced other helpful novelties; pl. XXXVIII gives the exterior profiles of all the moulds, which are rarely if ever supplied but which may repay further study and comparison and, in presenting the material without obvious suppression (excepting only the bowl by Eros C. Anni), Miss Alexander treats her audience like adults.

Conforming to the plan of the *Corpus*, the text is on the whole descriptive of the individual pieces. Only rarely does Miss Alexander let herself go into a discussion of problems, even when they could be advanced or settled by the evidence of the collection itself. A welcome exception is her extended discussion of the six *punzoni* as evidence for toreutic originals of the much-admired Arretine decoration (pp. 12 f.). She concludes that these stamps are far from original works of creative art, but are simply plagiarisms of someone else's silversmithing, and often clumsy at that—"mere tools in the workshop." The Arretine "artists" become journeymen technicians whose contribution was the arrangement of figures, often infelicitously, and the occasional doctoring of some limb or attribute. At least for the more important decorative figures and for the best period the evidence is convincingly complete—and if so, why not infer the same process for the accessory ovolos, rosettes, etc., and for the more decadent periods in Italy and Gaul? Miss Alexander wisely does not wander into these fields, but I suspect that in some instances a distinction can be drawn between the technique applied to major and minor decorative elements, or the techniques used at different times and in different places.

Miss Alexander has obviously tracked down many more parallels to the items in the collection than her sense of attention to business allows her to include in the text. Once or twice the references are too scanty for even the proper demonstration of her own conclusions. All this is unfortunate, for it leaves nothing commensurate to show for her laborious hours spent scanning the plates of Dragendorff's, Chase's, Oxé's, and other less accessible publications, and the next sigillatophile will have the same job to do again.

She might also have been less chary with whatever is known of the history of the collection itself. The proper orienting of the Metropolitan with the Loeb and Boston collections, and perhaps also with the important but none too well documented excavations at Arezzo in the 1880's and '90's might have suggested that the Perennii enjoy a disproportionate modern prominence partly because their shop underlay a site accessible to modern investigation, while certain no less worthy competitors had the misfortune of a location outside the excavation area. Not that the Metropolitan collection is limited to Perennius; actually, some of the most interesting pieces are precisely those of less familiar authorship—the magnificent crater by L. Titius Thyrsus, the mould by Eros C. Anni, and the fragment of L. Pomponius Pisanus. But the Perennii predominate, as always.

By thoroughly mastering her field and keeping closely to the matter in hand Miss Alexander has virtually excluded errors from her text. Would that all other students were as careful! For reasons given in *AJA.* xlvi, 1942, pp. 90 ff., I think it premature to assume that the activity of M. Perennius Tigranus ceased when that of M. Perennius Bargathes began. Further, Miss Alexander's statement on p. 11 that "Bargathes did not export to Gaul and the Rhineland as far as is known" must

be softened to accord with the evidence in Oxé's *Arret. Rel.-Gef. v. Rhein*, pp. 118 ff. And I doubt if the individuality of Oxé's "Zahnlückenmeister" can be sustained as Oxé defines him; indeed, there is evidence to the contrary in the Metropolitan collection, *e.g.*, pls. XXXIX, 4 and 5, XLI 5.

At certain points the text deserves a minor extension or modification. Some examples, listed *seriatim*, would be:

Pl. XIV, 2b: the head of the symposiast with wattled neck is taken from the same scene as *Loeb*, pl. X, 85.

Pl. XXVI, 1a–c, though very close to the work of Cerdo M. Perenni (cf. Viviani, *I Vasi Aretini*, figs. 1–3), has a rouletted rim comparable to that of Oxé, *op. cit.*, pl. XX, 95, signed *M. Perenni Tigrani*, from Windisch, which is a Tiberian site. In general, Miss Alexander does not make exhaustive use of accessory decoration in her discussions; for instance, the alternating leaves radiating from the base of this crater are probably the same as those of *Boston*, pls. IV and V, and many others, and the whole spirit of the Metropolitan's example is very close to that of *Boston*, pl. XI, 31.

Pl. XXVII, 1a–b: Oxé, *op. cit.*, p. 32, should have been cited for the date of the stamp, which is *late* Perennius II.

Pl. XXVII, 2: the rarity of the Bargathes signature, which Miss Alexander notes, deserves a fuller illustration of this mould which is stylistically quite different from the only published parallels (*Boston*, pls. I, 128 and XX, 104). She might have added that the lovers illustrated appear with unbroken stamp on the Barcelona vase (Oxé, *op. cit.*, pl. XXX, 121c); and her observation that some of the accessory decoration appears on the work of other potters suggests certain connections which deserve further investigation.

Pl. XXVIII, the mould for a cover, could be attributed to M. Perennius Tigranus with considerably more assurance than Miss Alexander hazards. For various decorative elements, cf. Viviani, fig. 14; Franciosi, *Arezzo* (ed. 1931), p. 22 lower right; *Loeb*, pl. XII, 218 (all Tigranus, signed or unsigned); *Loeb*, pl. VIII, 305 (Pantagathus).

Pl. XXIX, 2, a magnificent and unique beaker, is pretty clearly by Bargathes; in addition to references cited, cf. *Loeb*, pls. XV, 349 and XXIII, 385.[1]

[1] But it is wrong to attribute the upper frieze of leaves to the potter of Dragendorff, *Bonn. Jahrb.* XCVI, 1895, pl. IV, 8 (=Oxé, *op. cit.*, pl. XLII, 156), as is implied by Miss Alexander's reference to Dragendorff, *Festschr. Oxé*, p. 5, note 9. The frieze of pendent triangles is found on a vase of Tigranus, Oxé, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, 8, who mixed some of the style of the Metropolitan beaker with human figures, (*ibid.*, pl. XXIV, 114). The allusion to similarities between the beaker and Oxé, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXV, 135, by Cn. Ateius, is evidence of influence between Ateius and Bargathes rather than reasonable cause for doubting the latter's authorship of the beaker. Additional evidence of interinfluence between Bargathes and Ateius lies in the figure of the swan in flight, which appears on the Metropolitan beaker and upon the famous Mainz *Kranichkelch*, best illustrated by Behrens, *Mainz. Zeits.* XII, 1917, p. 58, figs. 21, 22 (also Behn, *Röm. Keramik*, p. 147, and Oxé, *op. cit.*, pl. XVI, 72). But why did Bargathes not sign his beaker? He is not noted for self-effacement.

Pl. XXXI, a complete mould by Pantagathus Rasini, is presented without allusion to Oxé's study of this potter in Albrecht, *Das Römerlager in Oberaden* I, 1938—the only genuine "howler" in the fascicule. The Metropolitan's fascicule has affinities to work of Ateius which hardly originated before A.D. 10 (*Oberaden*, p. 71), but not as late as *Boston*, pl. XXII, 115 and 116. For the beetle on the mould, cf. the bowl of Cn. Ateius Xanthus, Behrens, *op. cit.*, p. 37, figs. 22, 23 and Oxé, *Arret. Rel.-Gef. v. Rhein*, p. 62, pl. XVII, 73, assigned by the latter to A.D. 16–21. Pantagathus' labors for Rasinius formed his third and last period.

Pl. XXXII, 1, a complete mould by Quartio Rasini, is not close to Pantagathus; he uses an ovolo border rather than rosettes or ivy leaves, and his fruit-garlands are different. Yet he divides his field into two zones, both of which are "horizontal" (cf. Oxé, *Oberaden*). On the same plate, 2a–b, Isotimus Rasini is very close to Pantagathus except that he has no lower zone at all, and is hence perhaps later. The Metropolitan moulds of Rasinius would have provided an interesting and useful excursus to this fascicule, supplementing Oxé.

Pl. XXXIII, a crater by L. Titius Thyrsus, deserves considerable detailed study. The date of Thyrsus' *plain* ware is better discussed in dependence upon Oberaden (p. 55, three pieces before 8 B.C.) and Haltern (Loeschcke, *Mitt. aus Westfalen* V, 1912, p. 185, twelve pieces) than upon Mont Beuvray. But *decorated* ware of Thyrsus is a novelty which should be considered on the ground of its style, which approaches the lunatic fringe. There is no connection between the nude male figure and *Loeb*, pl. XVIII, 154, for

which parallels are indicated in *Festschr. Oxé.*, p. 28, 3.

Pl. XXXIV, 2: Miss Alexander non-committally records my previous rather half-hearted attribution of this little cup to C. Annius. I am still not ready to defend the attribution against all comers, but it is worth noting that *Oberaden*, pl. 47*a* and *c*, by Pantagathus C. Anni, use a very similar leaf in the same general arrangement; *a* also has a frieze of the small ivy leaf, just like the Metropolitan cup, and at the bottom it also uses rosettes at least similar to the flowers on the Metropolitan cup; the shape of the latter is Annian (*Oberaden*, pl. 49, 6 and 7; Oxé attributes them specifically to Pantagathus, p. 67), and the double groove above the field is used by Pantagathus (*op. cit.*, pl. 47*a* and *c*.) But none of these considerations is compelling, and one wishes that the unassuming potter had settled the matter himself in the conventional way.

Pl. XXXV, a mould by Eros P. Corneli: since parallels for the necklace motive are given, the discussion in *Oberaden*, p. 66, should certainly have been included. The same or similar motive on a vase by Cornelius himself appears in the Vassar College Museum, which would probably have repaid a visit in search of parallels and hints for other Metropolitan *sigillata* as well. For the upper border of leaves an interesting and suggestive parallel is a fragment by L. Pomponius Pisanus, *Bonn. Jahrb.* XCVI, 1895, pl. V, 38.

Pl. XXXVII, a cup by Rodo P. Corneli: the "uncertain object" held by the youth is a cornucopia surmounted by the garland ornament of *AJA.* XLII, 1938, p. 507, fig. 1 (with references to other uses by Cornelius' workers). The basket of fruit on the column is filled with the garland ornament of Oxé, *Arret. Rel.-Gef. v. Rhein*, pl. L, 200 (*P. Corneli*). The whole cup is so similar to Oxé, *Schumacher Festschr.*, pl. 32, A 2, a characteristically "baroque" Tiberian piece, that the latter may now be attributed to Rodo; but the Metropolitan cup seems earlier than Oxé's.

Pl. XLII, 1, a bowl signed by Tigranus with large separate letters, might have been compared with the Arretine ware from England noted in *AJA.* XLVI, 1942, pp. 90–92.

Pl. XLII, 6, Nike sacrificing a bull: Miss Alexander errs in connecting this subject with Dragendorff's group in *Bonn. Jahrb.* XCVI, pp. 69 f. The connection is rather with the circle of Rasinius or of Rasinius-Memmius. *Oberaden*, pl. 51, 7 and 8, with the same upper border and almost certainly the same Nike, suggests an especially close relationship with Pantagathus, and the Metropolitan fragment is a really classic example of Pantagathus' characteristic technical slip, "der doppelte Contur einzelner Reliefmotive (Rosetten und Blätter) . . . gewöhnlich auf der linken Seite," for which Oxé cites several parallels (*Oberaden*, p. 45). Since his pl. 51, 8 is from Mont Beuvray, it antedates 5 B.C.; we thus acquire a rough chronology for the ovolo "stamped directly on the wheelmade vertical face" of the offset lip of the Metropolitan sherd. This peculiarity is not common, but neither is it unknown, and in Arretine chronology even the flimsiest peg is welcome.

Pl. XLVIII, 4 has rather more in common with the unsigned Bargathes beaker (pl. XXIX, 2) than is apparent from Miss Alexander's cross-reference. Though the style of the present fragment is apparently more flowing and floral than that of the beaker, they may for all practical purposes be considered from the same hand. This pair could be usefully grouped with Oxé, *Arret. Rel.-Gef. v. Rhein*, pls. XLVI f. and similar pieces elsewhere.

Pl. XLIII, 5: once more Miss Alexander's attribution to Bargathes is overcautiously phrased. The casual student of the text might suppose that there was some doubt.

Pl. XLIV, 10 is by N. Naevius Hilarus of Pozzuoli; cf. Dragendorff's pl. V, 37, which Miss Alexander cites as showing the same figure, and his pl. V, 46, which is signed.

Pl. XLV, 1: by Naevius, and no "perhaps."

Pl. XLV, 2: the attribution to Naevius could safely have been made more dogmatic. In passing, these three sherds are the only decorated Puteolan ware of which I know in North America.

Pl. XLV, 5: the fact that this lion-skin decoration by Cornelius was found at Haltern (Loeschcke, *Mitt. aus Westfalen* V, 1909, pl. XVII, 3) should have been noted for its chronological implications.

Pl. XLV, 6 is a companion piece to Dragendorff's pl. V, 40 and 43—which is not of itself very informative. Without giving her reasons, Miss Alexander suggests Cornelius as the potter, and on the basis of a rather complicated set of comparisons I incline to agree. Once more the accessories (the rosette in this case) deserve close study and comparison.

Pl. XLVI, 1: the figure is presumably that of *Brit. Mus. Cat.* L 55 (4), p. 21, by Antiochus P. Corneli. It also appears in *Loeb*, pl. XVII, 169, signed *P. Corneli.*

Pl. XLVI, 4: the freehand *a stecco* wreath pattern is certainly from the shop of Rasinius.

Pl. XLVIII: the six unglazed fragments, are given a somewhat cavalier treatment. Had they been completed, they would certainly have merited individual mention, and one or two of them are of some interest. The scene on No. 5 is more fully rendered on *Boston*, pl. XXVII, 8♀, and the ovolo used on it is so characteristic as to deserve mention whenever it appears. It goes without saying that all these are by Perennius—and yet it should have been said.

Even more offhand is the suppression of a double-handful of decorated fragments in the collection. Granting that there is not much to be said of most of them individually, everyone who has worked with *sigillata* knows how useful are small and apparently insignificant *disiecta membra*. Furthermore, it would have been appropriate to include in the preface of the fascicule the statement that the Museum's whole collection of *sigillata*, including several interesting plain Arretine dishes and a number of rather important Gaulish items from the Gréau collection, is vastly more extensive than the small proportion of Arretine relief ware actually presented.

Finally, editors of Arretine collections have always to bear in mind that their painfully prepared text is regrettably but inevitably of less importance than the plates. The British Museum and Mainz Museum Catalogues are abiding examples of misplaced emphasis. Considering how such catalogues are used, every consideration must be given to the student who wants the most from the illustrations with the greatest efficiency—and this involves an index. Oxé provided one which contributes greatly to the flexibility of his plates, and his innovation deserves imitation. Indeed, in a larger sense the question arises whether the time has not come for something approaching a general index of Arretine motives, fully illustrated and documented, such as Déchelette, Fölzer, Knorr, and most recently Oswald have compiled for the Gaulish wares. Miss Alexander's publication provides endless new material for such a repertory, and it is perhaps not necessary to await the publication of the Arezzo, Tübingen and Berlin collections, much as these would extend our range. At any rate, there can be no doubt as to its usefulness.

Both the Union Académique Internationale and the Metropolitan Museum are to be congratulated on this very distinguished addition to their respective series, and Miss Alexander is to be congratulated on her highly successful personal share in it. It is to be hoped that, free from the limitations of the *Corpus*, she will take to the pages of this JOURNAL with discussions of the many problems on which she has so obviously become an authority.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE HOWARD COMFORT

THE EXCAVATIONS AT DURA-EUROPOS: FINAL REPORT IV, PART I, FASCICLE I, THE GREEN GLAZED POTTERY, by *Nicholas Toll*. Pp. 95, pls. i–xx. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1943.

Knowledge of the glazed Mesopotamian pottery takes a great step forward with this excellent report on the material from Dura. The limited range of occupation of the site lends an added significance in this as in other respects, and the careful excavation on the part of the Yale staff and the special competence of Mr. Toll, one of its members, give the report an importance not due alone to its relative solitude in the subject; Debevoise's publication of the Seleucia pottery is the only comparable study.

The descriptive body of the report is preceded by an introduction which deals with matters of material, technique of manufacture, chronological evidence, and place of manufacture, and is followed by a conclusion which summarizes present knowledge of the field; a full technological report on tested specimens by F. R. Matson forms a final section which adds much value to the whole. Toll's conclusion, written with commendable restriction to matters of fact, will naturally be sought out first by students of ancient pottery in general. References are given to other finds of glazed pottery in Mesopotamia and its periphery, and although the record is one of almost uninterrupted neglect of this late material by excavators, enough evidence is salvaged to permit differentiation of a southern, a northern, and a western group, with Dura's pottery forming a fourth, or central Mesopotamian group.

No student of Hellenistic and Roman pottery can fail to be struck by the complete difference between those varnished and these Near Eastern glazed wares. Not only a different technical preference divides them, but also one of fundamental shape. In the varnished pottery, open shapes predominate at all periods; in the glazed, closed shapes rule. This comes out strikingly in the Dura pottery, where the influence of varnished closed shapes is very rare, whereas there is hardly

a single open shape (figs. 28 and 29) for which parallels or related shapes cannot be found in the varnished wares. Toll notes some instances, but others are also clear: in fig. 28, the "double rimmed lip" of group XI D calls strongly to mind the concave, carinated rims of Julio-Claudian cups; no. 1938.4854 is a well known late version of the Hellenistic bowl with angled side; the shapes of groups XI E, XI F1 and XI F2 would look far more natural in a coat of red varnish than in one of green glaze; no. 1938.4805 is a direct steal from the Middle Roman repertory. Fig. 29 is even more interesting; apart from nos. 1–920 and 1938.4857, which are late Hellenistic red ware (Hellenistic "Pergamene") shapes, the shapes there illustrated bear a striking similarity to those of Late Roman B pottery in its earlier phases, which was being imported into the eastern Mediterranean from the second century on, probably from North Africa. That certain of these shapes are early enough to have been copied at Dura in glazed ware is hardly borne out by evidence elsewhere, however, and it may be that the same metal vases which furnished the Late B potters the shapes for their distinctive polished red ware were also copied at Dura in its glazed technique.

Since such reports are bound to be used as guides in future excavations, it is pertinent to comment upon their appropriateness for use in the field, with the understanding that any shortcomings in this respect may more often lie with editorial policy than with the author's composition. Here one might complain of the use throughout of the awkwardly long inventory numbers of the expedition; much more convenient would have been the serial numbering of the items illustrated and described, and the addition of a concordance of serial and inventory numbers. This would have alleviated also the present difficulty of referring from the illustrations back to the classification and description in the text, no classifications being listed in the illustrations. A most useful addition would have resulted from the devotion of a couple of plates to an illustrated outline of the classification, whereby simplified descriptions of the classifications and much reduced reproductions of the drawings of shapes would be arranged in outline form for ready reference. But these are perhaps counsels of perfection, and are in no manner intended to detract from a most favorable verdict on this study. The price of the book is $2.00

CORNELL UNIVERSITY F. O. WAAGE

COPTIC EGYPT: PAPERS READ AT A SYMPOSIUM HELD UNDER THE JOINT AUSPICES OF NEW YORK UNIVERSITY AND THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM, February 15, 1941, Brooklyn, 1944. .75

The papers included in this handsomely printed little volume were presented by W. L. Westermann, A. D. Nock, Sirarpie Der Nersessian, and M. S. Dimand. Two more, not read at the Symposium, have been included—"Romano-Coptic Egypt and the Culture of Meroe", by Dows Dunham, and a reprint of J. D. Cooney's introduction to the catalogue of the Museum's exhibition "Paganism and Christianity in Egypt: Egyptian Art from the First to the Tenth Century A.D.," shown in the first three months of 1941.

Westermann's review of the political and economic transformation of Egypt from the Greek conquest to the fourth century is appropriately entitled "The Background of Coptism." He points out the persistent separation of the foreign (Greek and Roman) ruling class from the exploited natives and the geographical expression of this in the cultural isolation of Alexandria and the Delta from Upper Egypt. The economic oppression of Roman rule produced a habit of escape through retreat from the valley to the desert that was continued in Christian Egypt by the founders of monasticism, who "went up" out of the valley (anechoresan) and became anchorites like the desperate tax-ridden farmers of whom the Greek verb was first used. The de-Hellenizing of the East in late antiquity can be excellently illustrated in the Egyptian towns, which have sloughed off their Greek titles of Hellenistic and Roman times, and reveal in their modern Coptic and Arabic forms the ancient Egyptian names. A useful indication toward a regional division of Egypt on the part of students of Coptic art is given by Westermann in his reminder that Coptic itself is a language of regional dialects, the Sahidic of Upper Egypt, Akhmimic of Middle, and Bohairic of Lower Egypt. The brief essay closes with a shrewd observation which helps to explain the "primitivism" of Coptic art: "From 500 A.D. onward Egypt again arose and began to speak in its own media, of language, of religious views, of artistic expression. A land and a people, long subjected to political pressure and cultural snobbishness and scorn from above, began to speak in its own terms. These terms were, no doubt, 'lower case'. But that is precisely because they came from the depths of the country and the people."

The economic picture given by Westermann of

late antique Egypt is re-enforced by Nock's "Later Egyptian Piety." Egyptian religion shows, indeed, the imposition of Greek and Roman types, but they were imposed and superficial: "the Greeks who came to the Faiyum built small chapels for their deities; but the main temple of each settlement was that of a local god, frequently one of the various types of crocodile-god." The elaborate provincial and regional organizations, centered on the cult of Augustus and Rome, which Rome encouraged throughout the rest of the Empire, were absent in Egypt. Outside Alexandria, where religion took on an Hellenic superficies, the cults of ancient Egypt persisted, retaining their elaborate and mysterious liturgy, despite a rigorous supervision by Roman officialdom. The echoes of this late antique paganism reveal mystic and moral overtones and a quest of *gnosis* which prepared an easy conquest of Egypt for Christianity and gnosticism alike.

Mr. Dunham's brief notice of the recent excavations of royal tombs in Nubia, at El Kurrow, Nuri, and Meroe, points out that they have provided evidence of Nubian culture from ca. 1000 B.C. to 350 A.D., together with a considerable amount of imported objects ranging from Greek fifth-century pottery to sculpture and minor arts of Roman origin. The importance of Meroe for students of Coptic culture lies in the later date (300 B.C. to 350 A.D.) of its material.

J. D. Cooney's "Problems of Coptic Art" was written as an introduction to the catalogue of the Brooklyn Museum's exhibition "Pagan and Christian Egypt" and is reprinted with some alterations in the present volume. It amounts to a brief sketch of what comprises the material of Coptic art, and is especially useful in indicating the lacunae which invite research.

Sirarpie Der Nersessian contributes an important paper, in her "Aspects of Coptic Painting." Her observations on the apocryphal elements in the Infancy frescoes of Antinoe and the David cycle at Bawit are noteworthy additions to our knowledge of Coptic iconography, as is also her resume of recent analyses of the "Ezekiel-visions" at Bawit, Saqqara, Assouan, Deir el-Abiad, and Sohag. These compositions are in reality combinations of Ezekiel's and Isaiah's visions with that of the Apocalypse, attuning this mixture to the liturgy by the addition of details from the latter source. Der Nersessian relates the curious renderings of demons in the frescoes of Bawit to the descriptions of infernal torment found in the biographies of Egyptian saints, and summarizes Perdrizet's explanantion of the Sisinnois fresco of Bawit. Her summary is welcome as making available a very valuable chapter on Coptic demonology which has hitherto been practically inaccessible, being tucked away in the publications of the *Faculté des Lettres* of the University of Strasbourg.

The last paper, by M. S. Dimand, on the "Classification of Coptic Textiles," reveals the caution with which the best-informed students of this difficult subject allow themselves the luxury of generalization. But it would be difficult to find a place in recent literature where more real chronological data has been assembled. The change of burial custom which involved the burial in the garments actually worn is put at bout 250 A.D., and affords a general *terminus a quo* for the dating of the bulk of Egyptian fabrics. Dimand underlines the influence of mosaic design on that of textiles, especially in the category of loop and pile weavings, and it may be that this relation has led him to what seems to the reviewer to be too early dating in some cases, e.g. the assignment to the fourth century of the so-called "Triumph of Bacchus" in the Metropolitan. Dimand's paper was written too early to take account of Paul Friedlaender's brilliant analysis of the scene on this textile as a chapter of the Cybele-Attis myth.

But Dimand's accumulation of dates is in other cases very useful. The indubitable second and third-century dates of textiles and tombstones found at Dura and Palmyra raises the question of a possible Syrian derivation for third and fourth-century Coptic weaves with similar decoration of geometric patterns and vine-scrolls. The textiles, like every other section of late antique art in Egypt, force the assumption of a stronger survival of Hellenistic style in Alexandria than in Upper Egypt, which provides another difficulty in dating. The "orientalizing" of Coptic textile-design began in the middle of the fifth century, as attested by the dates of papyri found with examples of such style at Antinoe. The same transformation, in about the same period, is visible in the mosaic pavements of Antioch. The outright Sassanian influence seems to have become effective in the sixth century, and Dimand's classification goes on into the seventh, eighth, ninth, and even the tenth century, though with a regrettable lack of detail made necessary, no doubt, by the cramped compass of a symposium paper.

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